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THE JOHNS HOPKINS STUDIES IN ROMANCE LITERATURES AND LANGUAGES

VOLUME XV

THE INFLUENCE OF ARIOSTO'S EPIC AND LYRIC POETRY ON RONSARD AND HIS GROUP

BY
ALICE CAMERON

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
1930

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WITHDRAWN

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FOREWORD

Up to the present time, there has existed only one brief study on the general question of the influence of Ariosto's poetry on that of Ronsard and his co-workers and disciples. In 1901, M. Joseph Vianey published in the *Bulletin Italien* an article entitled *L'Arioste et la Pléiade,*[1] in which, besides calling attention to a number of cases of *rapprochement* between the work of Ludovico and the poems of Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baïf, and others of lesser note, he remarks that if Ariosto's work was not the most important source used by the members of the *Pléiade,* it was at least one from which they never tired of drawing. Its popularity with them was in large measure due to its erotic qualities; Ariosto's conception of love, which was strongly voluptuous, and a thing of the senses, was much more to the taste of these poets than the shadowy spiritualities of Petrarch and his followers. Finally, M. Vianey believes that Joachim Du Bellay imitated Ariosto's poems earlier, and more often, than any other writer of his group; and that the magnitude of his borrowings discouraged his companions from applying with equal frequency to the same source.[2]

After this interesting beginning, M. Vianey's attention was diverted to other lines of research. He has, it is true, brought out several publications in which the subject is touched upon indirectly, or in part;[3] but he has never again dealt with it comprehensively and exclusively.

[1] Cf. *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 295-317.

[2] *Op. cit.,* 295, 296, and 300.

[3] Cf. the following articles and books:

"Les 'Antiquitez de Rome,' leurs sources latines et italiennes," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 187 sqq.

"Les Sources italiennes de l'*Olive,*" *Annales internationales d'histoire,* Paris, A. Colin, 1901.

"L'Arioste et les Discours de Ronsard," *Revue Universitaire,* I (1903), 473 sqq.

"La Part de l'imitation dans les *Regrets,*" *Bull. It.,* IV (1904), 130 sqq.

Mathurin Regnier, Paris, Hachette, 1896; and *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle,* Montpellier, Coulet et fils, 1909.

M. Chamard, in his thesis on Du Bellay [4] and in his edition of the works of that poet; [5] M. Laumonier, in his *Ronsard poète lyrique* [6] and in both his editions of the poems of Ronsard; [7] M. Augé-Chiquet in his *Jean-Antoine de Baïf;* [8] and M. Eckhardt in his *Remy Belleau,* [9] have all contributed to our knowledge of the influence of Ariosto's work on the poetry of the Pléiade. Cases of *rapprochement* between his work and theirs have also been pointed out by M. E. Parturier in his article on *Quelques sources italiennes de Ronsard;* [10] by Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees in her article on *Some Debts of Samuel Daniel to Du Bellay;* [11] and by Signor Ferdinando Neri in two articles entitled *La Nave di Ronsard* [12] and *Nota ai "Regrets."* [13] This information is, however, so widely diffused, that its significance has so far been obscured; moreover, it is incomplete; it must be collected and supplemented before its cumulative force can be felt.

That no one has hitherto undertaken the task is probably due to a not unnatural tendency, on the part of most specialists in French literature of the sixteenth century, slightly to overemphasize the influence of Petrarch and the classic writers on the work of Ronsard and his group, at the expense of other far from negligible sources.[14] Of course, the question is complicated by the fact that the poetry of Ariosto is itself full of imitations of the works of Petrarch and the classic writers; but he cus-

[4] *Joachim Du Bellay,* Lille, Bigot frères, 1900.

[5] *Œuvres Poétiques* (Société des textes français modernes), 5 vols.; Paris, Cornély, 1908-1912 (Vols. I-III); and Hachette, 1919 (Vols. IV, V).

[6] Paris, Hachette, 1909.

[7] *Œuvres Complètes* (Société des textes français modernes), 5 vols. (incomplete); Paris, Hachette, 1914-1928; *Œuvres Complètes,* 8 vols., Paris, Lemerre, 1914-1919.

[8] *La Vie, les idées et l'œuvre de Jean-Antoine de Baïf,* Paris, Hachette, 1909.

[9] Budapest, Nemeth, 1917.

[10] *Revue de la Renaissance,* VI (1905), 1 sqq.

[11] *Modern Language Notes,* XXIV (1909), 134 sqq.

[12] *Fanfulla della Domenica,* March, 1916.

[13] *Athenaeum,* VII (1919), 185 sqq.

[14] M. Vianey, M. Pierre de Nolhac and M. Henri Hauvette are the exceptions to this rule. Cf. de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'humanisme,* Paris, E. Champion, 1921; and Hauvette, "Note sur Ronsard italianisant," *Revue de littérature comparée,* IV (1924), 476 sqq.

tomarily gives such strongly individual touches to the material which he adapts that one seldom experiences any difficulty in determining when a member of the Pléiade is imitating Ariosto's verses, and when those of his masters.

In this thesis I have attempted to ascertain the amount of influence exercised by Ariosto's verses on the work of ten of the men who inaugurated a new school of French poetry in the sixteenth century: Jacques Peletier, Jean Dorat, Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim Du Bellay, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Pontus de Tyard, Remy Belleau, Estienne Jodelle, Jacques Tahureau, and Olivier de Magny. All these people shared the same ideals, and the same convictions. An examination of their work will enable us to decide whether or not the conclusions drawn by M. Vianey [15] are correct; it will also, I hope, be acceptable as a contribution on the general question of Ariosto's influence on French literature between the years 1547 [16] and 1586.[17]

I should like to add a few words on the editions of Ariosto's works used in the preparation of this thesis. The best edition of his *Orlando Furioso,* that prepared by Signor Filippo Ermini for the Società Filologica Romana,[18] is identical in punctuation and orthography with the original 1532 edition of the epic,[19] and is therefore unsuitable for quotation here. I have substituted for it Ottavio Morali's edition of the *Orlando,*[20] and checked this with the Ermini edition.

The edition of the *Opere Minori* [21] used is that prepared by Filippo-Luigi Polidori, Florence, Le Monnier, 1857 (2 vols.).

As for the various French poets treated here, the editions of their works used are given at the heads of the sections in which their poems are discussed.

In quoting all texts, I have differentiated between "i" and "j," and between "u" and "v"; I have also substituted "et" for "&," wherever the latter symbol occurs. These are the only changes I have made.

[15] Cf. p. ix, above.

[16] Date of the publication of Peletier's *Œuvres Poëtiques.*

[17] Date of the publication of the *Derniers vers* of Ronsard.

[18] Rome, Presso la Società, 1913 (3 vols.).

[19] Pub. Ferrara, Francesco Rosso, 1532.

[20] Milan, Pirotta, 1818.

[21] That is to say, Ariosto's sonnets, elegies, madrigals, *capitoli,* songs and satires. With his plays and his Latin poetry we have, of course, nothing to do.

INTRODUCTION

The close intellectual, commercial, and diplomatic ties that bound France to Italy in the sixteenth century are well known. They have been described by Morf,[1] by Flamini,[2] Del Balzo,[3] and Picot.[4] With Ferrara this connection was particularly intimate: in 1528, Renée of France, the sister of Francis the First, was married to Ercole d'Este, eldest son of the Duke of Ferrara. Renée gathered around her at the Italian court a group of cultivated French people, devoted, as was she herself, to art, music, and literature; unfortunately, this foreign entourage was a continual cause of dissension between the princess and her husband; in 1536 Ercole sent most of them away.[5] At the same time, Ercole's brother Francesco was residing at the French court;[6] another brother, Ippolito, became Archbishop of Lyons in 1539; he was noted as a patron of art and literature.[7] Finally, Alfonso d'Este, the son of Renée and Duke Ercole, must have spent some time in Paris, for among the *Odes* of Olivier de Magny (published 1559) there is a *Complainte des dames de*

[1] Cf. H. Morf, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur im Zeitalter der Renaissance,* Strassburg, K. J. Trübner, 1914.

[2] Cf. Francesco Flamini, *Le Lettere italiane in Francia nei secoli del Rinascimento,* Leghorn, Giusti, 1905.

[3] Cf. Carlo Del Balzo, *L'Italia nella letteratura francese dalla caduta dell' impero romano alla morte di Enrico IV,* Rome-Turin, Roux and Viarengo, 1905.

[4] Cf. Emile Picot, "Les Italiens en France au XVIe siècle," *Bul. It.,* I, 92 sqq., 269 sqq.; II, 23 sqq., 108 sqq.; III, 7 sqq., 118 sqq., 219 sqq.; IV, 123 sqq., 294 sqq.; XVII, 61 sqq., 160 sqq.; XVIII, 28 sqq. Cf. also his *Les Français à l'université de Ferrare au XVe et au XVIe siècle,* Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1902; his *Les Français italianisants au XVIe siècle* (2 vols.), Paris, H. Champion, 1906, 1907; and his article "Pour et contre l'influence italienne en France au XVIe siècle," *Etudes Italiennes,* janvier, 1921.

[5] Cf. the *Œuvres de Clément Marot,* ed. by Guiffrey and Yve-Plessis (3 vols.), Paris, Jean Schemit, 1875-1911, I, Chapters X and XII.

[6] This prince had two daughters, whom he named Marfisa and Bradamante, after the heroines of the *Orlando Furioso;* cf. Edmund Gardner, *The King of Court Poets, Ariosto,* New York, E. P. Dutton, 1906, p.357. and genealogical table 2 (Estensi).

[7] Cf. E. Picot, "Les Italiens en France au XVIe siècle," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 111, 112.

France at his departure. All these people, the French who were sent home by Ercole, and the princes of the house of Este who came to reside in France, must have been perfectly familiar with the works of Ferrara's greatest poet. The first edition of the *Orlando Furioso* (XL Cantos) had been printed at Ferrara in 1516; then came eighteen more, which did not differ greatly from the first; and in 1532 Ariosto published, also at Ferrara, the definitive edition of his epic, which contained forty-six Cantos. He died the following year. Between the years 1533 and 1550, forty-six editions of the *Orlando* are known to have been published in Italy.[8] In France, an author whose identity remains obscure had published in 1543 a prose translation of the *Orlando,* and this had been reprinted once in 1544, and twice in 1545.[9]

Ariosto's love-poems were at first published separately from his satires, in 1537, 1546, and 1547.[10] The earliest edition of his satires is that of 1533; they were reprinted nine times between this date and 1550.[11] Of course, it must be remembered that all these pieces had probably circulated widely in manuscript form, long before they ever were printed. So far as I know, no French translation of the *Opere Minori* has ever been made.

It was not until about 1549 or 1550 that Ariosto's poetry began to have its great vogue in France. Clément Marot, although he had passed more than a year in Ferrara as Madame Renée's secretary,[12] and had translated a number of Petrarch's poems,[13] never apparently imitated the work of Ariosto. Mellin de Saint-Gelais, according to the testimony of Flamini and M. Molinier, imitated it five times, and partly translated a story told in Cantos

[8] Cf. Ulisse Guidi, *Annali delle edizioni e delle versioni dell' Orlando Furioso,* Bologna, Guidi, 1861, pp. 3-54.

[9] Cf. *op. cit.,* pp. 177, 178.

[10] Cf. the *Opere Minori di Lodovico Ariosto,* ed. by Filippo-Luigi Polidori, Florence, Le Monnier, 1857 (2 vols.), I, p. xii.

[11] Cf. *op. cit.,* I, p.x.

[12] 1535-1536; cf. the *Œuvres de Clément Marot,* ed. by Guiffrey and Yve-Plessis, Paris, Jean Schemit, 1875-1911 (3 vols.), I, Chapters X and XII.

[13] Cf. the *Œuvres complètes de Clément Marot,* ed. by Pierre Jannet, Paris, Lemerre, 1873-1876 (4 vols.) III, p. 146 sqq.

IV and V of the *Orlando Furioso*[14] (story of Ginevra). But only one of the poems in which there occurs *rapprochement* with the work of Ariosto was published before 1550;[15] none of the rest appeared in print before 1574,[16] nor is there any positive proof that they were composed before the turn of the century, when Mellin had made his peace with the "Jeune Ecole" and was beginning to adopt their technique. The translation of the Ginevra episode was probably undertaken during Mellin's last years, for it remained unfinished when he died.[17] He also composed the cartel for a tourney in which the six challengers took the names of Orlando, Ruggiero, Rinaldo, Astolfo, Mandricardo, and Sacripante;[18] but this entertainment took place in 1556, some years after the *Olive* of Du Bellay (pub. 1549), the *Odes* and *Amours* of Ronsard (1550 and 1552), and the *Méline* and *Francine* of Baïf (1552 and 1555) had helped to bring Ariosto's epic into fashion.

The period of intensive imitation of the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori* in France begins with the first publications of Ronsard and his group. Although these writers speak of Ariosto only as an epic poet,[19] and affect to ignore his slighter compositions, they know them very well: the Sixth Sonnet "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," a graceful arrangement of *concetti;* the Twenty-second Sonnet, "Madonna, sete bella, e bella tanto," a whimsical description of the poet's lady; and the Sixth Elegy, "O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara," an extremely voluptuous recital of a love-adventure, are their especial favorites.

[14] Cf. Francesco Flamini, "Le lettere italiane alla corte di Francesco I, re di Francia" (*in Studi di storia letteraria italiana e straniera,* Livorno, Giusti, 1895). Cf. also H.-J. Molinier, *Mellin de Saint-Gelays,* Rodez, Carrère, 1910, pp. 65, 440, 478-487.

[15] A *dizain,* "Si j'ay du bien, hélas!" (*Œuvres de Melin de Sainct-Gelays,* ed. by Prosper Blanchemain, Paris, P. Daffis (Bibliothèque Elzévirienne), 1873 (3 vols.), I, p. 107; compare *Orlando Furioso,* XXXIII, 62, 63.

[16] They are: *D'un eslongnement* (*op. cit.,* I, p. 210); two *dizains,* "Cest aspirer qui souvent" "Ces larmes cy, Madame" (*op. cit.,* II, pp. 108, 109); and *Nuict d'amour* (*op. cit.,* III, p. 99); compare *O. F.,* XLIV, 61-66; *O. F.,* XXIII, 126, 127 (for both *dizains*); and the Sixth Elegy, "O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara."

[17] In 1558. It was completed by Baïf in 1572; cf. p. 133, below.

[18] Cf. the Bl. ed. of the *Œuvres de Sainct-Gelays,* I, pp. 171-173, and Molinier, *Mellin de Saint Gelays,* pp. 457, 458.

[19] See pp. 94, 169, below.

The Satires are not much imitated, except by Du Bellay and de Magny.

In the *Orlando,* too, their borrowings were chiefly, though by no means exclusively, confined to certain much-admired passages: the descriptions of the beautiful enchantress Alcina (VII, 10-16) and of the Princess Olimpia, bound naked to a rock as a sacrifice to the Orc (XI, 65-71); the story of the Orc, a huge sea-beast that preyed on human flesh (X, 93-110, and XI, 33-45); the scene in which Orlando goes mad (XXIII, 111-136); the five lamentations of Bradamante, inspired by the absence of her lover, Ruggiero (XXX, 82, 83; XXXII, 18-25 and 37-43; XXXIII, 62-64; XLV, 32-39), and of which the last is the most famous; and the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero (XLIV, 61-66). Scarcely less popular are the satirical description of the valley of the Moon (XXXIV, 73-92; XXXV, 1-30), in which occurs the allegory of the swans and crows, or poets and flatterers; and the tragic story of the death of Issabella's lover, Prince Zerbino of Scotland (XXIV, 77-87).

How were Ronsard, Du Bellay, and their followers led to imitate the poetry of Ariosto? Certainly not through the influence of Mellin de Saint-Gelais; even supposing that all five of the poems in which Mellin imitated Ariosto's work were written before 1549, they were not published, and had probably been seen by comparatively few people, for M. Molinier declares that "Mellin ne tenait nullement à voir ses petits vers circuler même manuscrits . . . . notre poète craignait la moindre publicité pour ses vers."[20] Moreover, he was the last person to whose guidance the chiefs of the new school would have submitted.

Neither could it have been the learned Dorat who called their attention to the excellent material lying ready for use in the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori.* Owing perhaps to the fact that he wrote very few verses in French, and no love poems, he did not imitate Ariosto's poetry at all. In a *Paean ou Chant Triumphal sur la victoire de Charles neuviesme,* written to celebrate the outcome of the battle of Jarnac,[21] there is a single reference to the Orc.[22] (M.-L., p. 35).

[20] Cf. his *Mellin de Saint-Gelays,* pp. 333, 334.

[21] Which took place in 1569; cf. the *Œuvres Poétiques de Jean Dorat,* ed. by Charles Marty-Laveaux, Paris, Lemerre, 1875, p. 77, note 15.

[22] A sea monster, described in Cantos X and XI of the *Orlando;* see above.

The first meeting of Pierre de Ronsard and Jacques Peletier occurred when the former was nineteen years of age, and the latter twenty-six. Peletier had already something of a reputation as a scholar and a man of letters; he was known as one of the valiant band who were trying to combat the "vil monstre Ignorance," and to bring about sweeping reforms in French scholarship and literature; it was therefore as to a counselor and critic that Ronsard must have addressed himself to him. M. Laumonier, in his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* describes certain details of the interview: the date was March 6, 1543, and the occasion that of Ronsard's being tonsured at Le Mans, where Peletier was living and acting as secretary to the Bishop René Du Bellay. Peletier showed his new acquaintance some of Petrarch's sonnets which he was trying to translate, and called his attention to the poets of the Italian renaissance, who had given their country a poetry based on the traditions of graeco-latin culture, but strongly original. This interview, which was the beginning of a firm friendship between Peletier and Ronsard, probably influenced to no small extent the literary projects of the latter.[23]

In 1547 Peletier published a small collection of Œuvres *Poëtiques.*[24] Besides Peletier's verses, there appears in this volume Ronsard's first published poem — an *Ode des beautez qu'il voudroit en s'Amie,* in which M. Laumonier has pointed out some lines [25] imitated from Ariosto's description of Alcina,[26] *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 10-16. Immediately following this is a response by Peletier in the shape of an ode *Des beautez et accomplissemens d'un Amant,* in which the elder poet describes a lover who would, in his opinion, be a suitable companion for the perfect "Amie." He must have dark eyes, "deux yeux noirs sous deux arcs noirs assis" (*Séché,* p. 108). This is a translation of two lines in the description of Alcina (*O. F.,* VII, 12, ll. 1, 2):

> Sotto duo negri e sottilissimi archi
> Son duo negri occhi . . . .

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[23] *Op. cit.,* pp. 23-26.

[24] Pub. Paris, Vascosan. A modern edition of this work has been prepared by Léon Séché (Paris, Revue de la Renaissance, 1904); all quotations given here are taken from it.

[25] Cf. p. 3, below.

[26] Cf. p. xvi, above.

In another poem, *L'Esté,* we find a description of a bower in the woods (" En ce plaisant . . . . Maintes Nymphes . . . . ," *Séché,* p. 92) which seems to be a combination of details from two passages in the *Orlando Furioso,* I, 35, ll. 3-8; 37, and XXIII, 109, ll. 6-8.

It seems very likely to me that it was Jacques Peletier who called Ronsard's attention to the work of Ariosto. We have the proof that he was familiar with the contents of the *Orlando* before 1547, and there is no reason to suppose that he was unacquainted with the *Opere Minori.* It was certainly not by accident that Ronsard and Peletier both imitated the description of Alcina in the jovial odes which they addressed to each other; in each case, the recipient was supposed to understand the allusion to a work which the two poets had perhaps read and enjoyed together. It is true that in the preface to his translation of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace[27] Peletier testifies his admiration for Dante, Petrarch, Sannazaro, and Boccaccio, and makes no mention of Ariosto; and it is also true that in his own *Art poëtique* (1555) Peletier judges the *Orlando* rather severely;[28] but neither of these facts really militates against the probability of his having recommended Ariosto's works to Ronsard for study and imitation. Ronsard himself, after having for more than thirty years been one of the most assiduous imitators of the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori,* wrote in his old age that since Petrarch Italy had produced no poets of authentic worth;[29] was Peletier's influence perhaps somewhat to blame for the inconsistency of this attitude?

The *Œuvres Poëtiques* also contained the first published poem of another illustrious member of the Pléiade — Joachim Du Bellay. He contributed a *pièce liminaire,* a *dizain,* " Cesse, le Mans, cesse de prendre gloire." Exactly when and where Peletier and Du Bellay first met has never been discovered; M. Jugé believes that their friendship began in 1543,[30]

[27] Pub. 1544.

[28] L'Arioste ancores a tant de choses légères . . . . J'antan un tas de contes, e plesanteries, qui au lieu de plere, son desagréables, au moins an un tel lieu." (Quoted by C. Jugé, in his *Jacques Peletier du Mans,* Paris, Lemerre, 1907, p. 321.)

[29] Cf. p. 92, below.

[30] Cf. his *Jacques Peletier du Mans,* p. 25.

MM. Chamard and Laumonier give the date as 1546.[31] In any case, it has been shown that Du Bellay's *Défense et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549) was partially inspired by the Preface to Peletier's *Traduction de l'Art poëtique d'Horace;*[32] and Du Bellay himself acknowledges, in the Preface to the second edition of his *Olive* (1550), that Peletier guided him in his choice of poetic mediums: "Voulant donques enrichir nostre vulgaire d'une nouvelle, ou plustost ancienne renouvellée poësie, je m'adonnay à l'immitation des anciens Latins et des poëtes Italiens, dont j'ay entendu ce que m'en a peu apprendre la communication familiere de mes amis. Ce fut pourquoy, à la persuasion de Jacques Peletier, je choisi le sonnet et l'ode . . . ."[33]

We know that Du Bellay's poetry is full of imitations of the work of Ariosto; was Peletier the friend who indicated to him as models the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori?*

I have unfortunately been unable to obtain for examination the rest of Peletier's poetical works;[34] but since they were all published after 1554, any imitations of the poetry of Ariosto which they might contain would be nothing like so significant as those found in the *Œuvres Poëtiques* of 1547.[35] We have seen that the influence of Ludovico's poetry on that of the "Jeune Ecole" began with this volume; we shall now endeavor to determine how long it endured, and upon which members of the group it was most potent.

[31] Cf. Chamard, *Joachim du Bellay,* p. 32; and the *Notice biographique* contributed by M. Laumonier to the Séché edition of the *Œuvres Poëtiques de Jacques Peletier du Mans,* p. xv.

[32] Cf. C. Jugé, *Jacques Peletier du Mans,* pp. 27-32.

[33] *Œuvres Poëtiques de Joachim Du Bellay* (Chamard ed.), I, p. 12.

[34] These are: *L'Amour des Amours* (1555); *La Savoye* (1572); *Euvres poëtiques, intituleez Louanges* (1581). So far as I know, no modern editions of these works have ever been printed.

[35] For additional references to Peletier as the mentor of Ronsard and Du Bellay, cf. the following volumes and articles: Henri Chamard, "L'Invention de 'l'Ode' et le différand de Ronsard et de Du Bellay," *Revue d'Histoire littéraire,* VI (1899), 21 sqq.; ibid., *De Jacobi Peletarii Cenomanensis Arte Poetica,* Lille, Bigot frères, 1900; Paul Laumonier, "L'Art Poëtique de Jacques Peletier du Mans," *Revue de la Renaissance,* I (1901), 248 sqq.; *Les Œuvres complètes de Joachim Du Bellay,* ed. by Léon Séché (3 vols.), Paris, Revue de la Renaissance, 1903-1910, I, notes and commentary on the *Olive;* and M. Joseph Vianey's review of the first volume of this edition, pub. in the *Revue d'Histoire littéraire,* X (1903), 523 sqq.

CHAPTER ONE

PIERRE DE RONSARD [1]

It would be inaccurate to say that Ronsard imitated the work of Ariosto more frequently than did his contemporaries, because, although the total number of his imitations is larger than that of any one of them, the volume of his literary output is also so much greater as to render comparison impossible. This, however, may be said: no member of his group imitated the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori* with more devoted persistency, or over a longer period of years, than did Ronsard. Throughout the thirty-nine years during which he wrote for publication: from the *Ode à Jacques Peletier, des beautez qu'il voudroit en s'Amie* (1547), mentioned above,[2] to the *Derniers vers* (1586), there is a continual series of *rapprochements* with the work of Ariosto—with his sonnets, his elegies, and above all with his *Orlando*. Except that the influence of these first is confined chiefly to the various editions of the *Amours,* while imitations of the *Orlando* appear in all types of his verse, these *rapprochements* fall into no logical divisions nor separate groups; that is to say, since they occur just as frequently towards the end of the poet's literary career as at its beginning, and since they appear in his *hymnes,* his *epitaphes* and his epic as well as in his sonnets and odes, it is evident that the influence of Ariosto on the work of Ronsard, unlike that of Pindar, has no rise and fall; it is uniform throughout in quality and quantity; we shall see later that this is not true of any other member of the Pléiade. My division of it into

[1] Two editions of the works of Ronsard have been used in the preparation of this chapter. Quotations from the Early Poems (1547-49), from the *Odes* of 1550, and from the *Amours* and *Odes* of 1552 and 1553 are taken from the critical edition of the *Œuvres Complètes* which M. Paul Laumonier is editing for the Société des Textes Français Modernes (Paris, Hachette, 1914-1928; 5 vols.; incomplete). Quotations from the later works are taken from the *Œuvres Complètes de Pierre de Ronsard,* ed. by Paul Laumonier, Paris, Lemerre, 1914-1919, 8 vols. The Textes Modernes edition will be indicated by the initials L. T. M., and the Lemerre edition by a single L.

[2] See p. xvii.

four periods [3] is therefore a purely arbitrary one, made for the more convenient handling of a large amount of material.

In selecting for imitation passages from the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori,* Ronsard's preferences are those of his entire group. His prime favorite is the description of Alcina,[4] which he uses, wholly or in part, over and over again. The description of Olimpia [5] he likes almost as well, and will sometimes mingle the two in a single passage. On at least nine occasions Ronsard levied contribution on the scene of the madness of Roland; [6] he never utilizes this passage in its entirety, but culls from it various striking similes to adorn his own lines. Bradamante's letter to Ruggiero [7] appears in full in a *chanson* in the first *Amours,* and fragmentarily in several other poems, while her laments,[8] especially those of Canto XXXII, are frequently taxed. The death of Zerbino [9] is another favorite; the poet draws on it often for material for his epitaphs. His fondness for the river similes,[10] and for Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet,[11] is a taste which he shares in common with Du Bellay; like the latter, he has used the sonnet as a basis for one of his own, and imitated its opening lines in several other pieces. On the other hand, he entirely neglects the allegory of swans and crows,[12] of which Du Bellay is so fond; and in composing an ode from elements found in Ariosto's voluptuous Sixth Elegy,[13] he leaves the Angevin entirely, and joins hands with Belleau and with Baïf. But both Ronsard, and Baïf and Du Bellay are united in their admiration for Sonnet 22; [14] all three have rendered it into French; Ronsard's version appears in the first volume of his *Amours.*

Before taking up the list of *rapprochements,* let me add that in their chronological arrangement I have followed, for the early

[3] See pp. 3, 6, 49, 86, below.
[4] *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 10-16; and see p. xvi.
[5] *O. F.,* XI, 64-72; see p. xvi.
[6] *O. F.,* XXIII, 121-136; see p. xvi.
[7] *O. F.,* XLIV, 61-66; see p. xvi.
[8] See p. xvi.
[9] *O. F.,* XXIV, 75-87; see p. xvi.
[10] See p. 12.
[11] See p. xv.
[12] *O. F.,* XXXV, 10-30; see p. xvi.
[13] See p. xv.
[14] See p. xv; and cf. Vianey, "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I, 1901, pp. 296-298.

poems, the *Quatre premiers livres des Odes, Ensemble son Bocage* (1550), the *Ode de la Paix* (1550), the four odes inserted in the *Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre* published by Nicolas Denisot (1551), and *Amours, Ensemble le Cinqiesme des Odes* (1552), and the *Amours* and *Odes* of 1553 M. Laumonier's Textes Modernes edition of these poems;[15] and for all the later works, M. Laumonier's *Tableau Chronologique des Œuvres de Ronsard,* second edition, Paris, Hachette, 1911.

The Early Poems, 1547-1549. This group comprises six pieces, of which the first three, an *Ode à Jacques Peletier, des beautez qu'il voudroit en s'Amie* (1547), the *Epithalame d'Antoine de Bourbon et Janne de Navarre* (1549), and the *Avantentrée du Roi treschrestien à Paris* (1549), were published separately one from another; the rest, a *Hymne de France,* a *Fantaisie à sa Dame,* and a *Sonnet à elle mesme,* appeared all in one binding in 1549. M. Laumonier has pointed out imitations of the work of Ariosto in the *Ode*[16] and in the *Fantaisie;*[17] he has also remarked that the *Avantentrée du Roi* contains a reference to two of the heroes of the *Orlando.*[18] I have found additional *rapprochements* in the first two of these, and in the *Epithalame.* Moreover, I notice that in the *Hymne de France* the names of several of the characters in Ariosto's epic are again referred to: therefore of the entire group there is only one, the *Sonnet,* in which no trace of his influence is apparent.

This influence is preponderantly that of the *Orlando.* It begins with the *Ode à Jacques Peletier,* whose third stanza was perhaps partially inspired, according to M. Laumonier, by certain details of the description of Alcina:

> Bianca nieve è il bel collo, e 'l petto latte:
> Il collo è tondo, il petto colmo e largo.
> Due pome acerbe, e pur d'avorio fatte,
> Vengono e van, come onda al primo margo,
> Quando piacevole aura il mar combatte.
> (*O. F.,* VII, 14, ll. 1-5)

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[15] See p. 1.

[16] Cf. his *Ronsard Poète Lyrique,* p. 504, note 1; also L. T. M., I, p. 5, notes 2, 3.

[17] Cf. the L. T. M., I, 38, note 1.

[18] Cf. the L. T. M., I, 22, note 2.

and of the description of Olimpia:

> Ma discendendo giù da le mammelle,
> Le parti che solea coprir la stola, ...
>
> Vinceano di candor le nievi intatte,
> Et eran più ch'avorio a toccar molli:
> Le poppe ritondette parean latte
> Che fuor dei giunchi allora allora tolli.
> Spazio fra lor tal discendea, qual fatte
> Esser veggiàn fra piccolini colli,
> L'ombrose valli, in sua stagione amene,
> Che 'l verno abbia di nieve allora piene.
>
> (*O. F.*, XI, 67, ll. 5, 6; and 68)

In stanza six Ronsard demands that the perfect maiden have a breath sweeter than all the flowers of Saba, or all the perfumes of India.[19] This simile occurs twice in the works of Ariosto: once in the *Orlando Furioso* (VII, 29, ll. 3-6, a love-scene between Alcina and Ruggiero); and again in the famous Sixth Elegy, ll. 25-27. Ronsard evidently considered it a very neat thing; it reappears several times in his later work.[20]

In 1550 Ronsard rewrote the fifth stanza of his ode in imitation of the description of Olimpia, thus:

> L'estomac plain, la jambe de bon tour,
> Plaine de chair tout à l'entour
> Que voulontiers l'on tateroit,
> Un sein qui les dieus tenteroit,
> Le flanc haussé, la cuisse faite au tour.
>
> (I, p. 5)

> I rilevati fianchi e le belle anche,
> E netto più che specchio il ventre piano,
> Pareano fatti, e quelle coscie bianche,
> Da Fidia a torno, o da più dotta mano.
>
> (*O. F.*, XI, 69, ll. 1-4)

The "estomac plain," which is obviously a translation of Ariosto's epithet, had appeared at the beginning of the original stanza in 1547; but the rest had shown no connection with his work. This change is, I think, evidence that Ronsard's admiration for the *Orlando* was not diminishing, but rather increasing with time.

[19] In 1550 R. changed "India" to "Arabia."

[20] Cf. pp. 14, 29 of this thesis.

At the same time (1550), Ronsard inserted, just after the seventh stanza, another,[21] in which I have found a new case of *rapprochement* to add to M. Laumonier's notes on the subject. This inserted stanza is, as a comparison with its models clearly shows, a pastiche of details taken from the description of Alcina, *O. F.*, VII, 13 and 15, ll. 1-6.

Progressing to the *Epithalame d'Antoine de Bourbon et Janne de Navarre* (1549), we find two stanzas, 6 and 7 (L. T. M., I, pp. 12, 13), the first of which is certainly, and the second quite possibly, inspired by the Sixth Elegy of Ariosto.[22] Stanza 6 is evidently an adaptation of the opening lines of the elegy (ll. 1-6), in which Ludovico praises the night, fairer and clearer to him than any day, on which his lady gave him a rendezvous. Stanza 7 may also have been inspired by these lines, and by the tribute which Ariosto paid, in ll. 28-30 of the same poem, to the "letto testimon de' piacer."

In the *Avantentrée du Roi* (1549), ll. 106-114, there is mention, as I have said, of two heroes of the *Orlando,* Ruggiero, and the Paladin himself.

In the *Hymne de France* (1549) the latter is mentioned again, in conjunction with his cousin Rinaldo (l. 202). Although, of course, both Orlando and Rinaldo had been famous in French song and story long before the *Orlando* and its author existed, it is in the Italian epic that they are paired conspicuously together, as preeminent in might and valor among all Charles's paladins. In 1554 Ronsard changed his line, collocating with their names that of the Emperor.

The *Fantaisie à sa Dame* (1549) is based on a poetical theme which was a commonplace in Dante's time,[23] and earlier. It is the dream, or vision, in which the lover, falling into a kind of ecstasy, sees various phantoms, whose transformations are symbolic of the power of Love. Thus in the *Fantaisie* Ronsard dreams himself to be first a cloud, then a shower of rain, then a rock, a fountain, a swan, and so on. M. Laumonier says of this poem,[24] that it was probably inspired by three pieces in Petrarch's

[21] "Le pie petit" etc. (I, p. 6).

[22] On this elegy cf. A. Salza, *Studi su Ariosto,* Città di Castello, Lapi, 1914, pp. 68-80; and see p. xv, above.

[23] Cf. for example the first poem in the *Vita Nuova,* "A ciascun' alma presa e gentil core."

[24] See L. T. M., I, p. 35, note 3.

Canzoniere:[25] the first and third *canzoni* in Part I, and the third *canzone* in Part II. Of the poem as a whole this is perfectly true. Many of its details, however, present, as M. Laumonier himself is entirely aware,[26] a mixture of imitations of the *Canzoniere* and of other models; I have found such to be the case in the passage which describes the lover's successive transformations into a rock and a fountain (ll. 13-24); the general idea here is from the first *canzone* in the *Canzoniere,* " Nel dolce tempo de la prima etade," ll. 78-83; 113-117; but it will be noted that in the *canzone* the rock signifies fear, and not constant affection; Ronsard has in reality taken his conception of the rock as a symbol of fidelity, as well as the verses in which he clothes it, from one of the best-known passages in the *Orlando Furioso* — the letter of Bradamante, XLIV, 61-66. It is from stanza 61 that the image is taken.

Another interpolation of material from the *Orlando* occurs in lines 59-64 of the *Fantaisie.* This time it comes, as M. Laumonier has pointed out,[27] from the description of Alcina, VII, 14, ll. 1-5.

Poems Written Between 1550-1556. This group is composed of the publications of Ronsard's early lyric period; most of its items contain imitations of the poetry of Ariosto. Of those that do not, the only one of any bulk is the *Folastries* (1553), a collection containing sixteen pieces, of which seven are translations from the Greek, and the other nine by their nature more likely to have been inspired by Marot or Rabelais than by Ariosto.

The majority of those in the list which do show traces of the influence of the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori* are lyric in character; Ronsard, at this period, was producing chiefly odes and sonnets. We have, however, an important exception in the two editions of *hymnes* (1555-1556).

Taken as a whole, the poems in this group show much more imitation of the *Orlando* than of the *Opere Minori.* The influ-

[25] I presume that M. Laumonier has used the edition of Petrarch's *Rime* prepared by Giovanni Mestica, Florence, Barbèra, 1896.

[26] See his notes to this poem, L. T. M., I, pp. 35-39.

[27] See L. T. M., I, p. 38, note 1.

ence of the latter makes itself felt chiefly in the *Amours;* in the editions of 1552 and 1553 it is equal to that of the epic, in the *Continuation* (1555) it is only slightly less strong; in the *Nouvelle Continuation* (1556) I note only two cases of *rapprochement* with the *Opere Minori,* and two with the *Orlando.*

Of the poems in the *Quatre premiers livres des Odes* (1550), nine have been mentioned by M. Laumonier as containing passages inspired, to a greater or lesser degree, by the work of Ariosto. These are the odes *A Caliope,*[28] *A Macée,*[29] *A sa guiterre,*[30] *A la forest de Gatine,*[31] *A son lict,*[32] *Le baiser de Cassandre,*[33] *La defloration de Lede, à Cassandre,*[34] *A Cassandre,*[35] and *A son retour de Gascogne.*[36] I have found additional material in some of these, and in a number of the others in the volume, as will appear by the list of *rapprochements* given below.

The first case of imitation presents quite an interesting problem. It occurs in the ode *A Madame Marguerite* (L. T. M., I, pp. 72-78); Ronsard is celebrating the wisdom and virtue of the French Pallas, sister to Henri II; it is she, says the poet, who struck down with her victorious blade:

> Le vilain monstre Ignorance,
> Qui souloit toute la France
> Desous son ventre couver.
> (L. T. M., I, p. 75, ll. 54-56)

This is decidedly reminiscent of Ariosto's description of the man-eating sea-orc, *O. F.,* XI, 34, ll. 7-8; 35, ll. 5-6.

The source of the verses in the *Orlando* is, according to Pio Rajna,[37] Ovid's description of the sea-monster from which Perseus rescued Andromeda, *Metamorphoses,* IV, 689-90.

A comparison of these three passages would indicate that Ronsard had followed Ariosto rather than Ovid; but there is

[28] Cf. L. T. M., I, p. 178, note 1.
[29] Cf. L. T. M., I, p. 200, note 3.
[30] Cf. L. T. M., I, p. 234, note 1.
[31] Cf. L. T. M., I, p. 245, note 2.
[32] Cf. L. T. M., I, p. 257, note 2 and *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 515.
[33] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 44, note 3.
[34] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 70, note 1.
[35] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 127, note 2.
[36] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 201, note 2.
[37] See *Le Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso,* Florence, Sansoni, 1900, pp. 198-200.

another side to the question. In 1550, the same year that Ronsard published his *Odes,* Joachim Du Bellay had brought out a long poem, the *Musagnoemachie,* which begins with a wild rhapsody in which we find the lines:

> Je voy sortir des abismes
> Une Orque, pour m'abismer
> En son ventre plain de crimes,
> Qui couvre toute la mer.[38]

The source of this is of course, as M. Chamard [39] has pointed out in his edition of the works of Du Bellay, the passage in the *Orlando* cited above. The poet then goes on to describe another monster, not the Orc, which he calls the Beast of Ignorance; and he praises François Ier for having been first to attack it; this whole episode is imitated from another portion of the *Orlando* (XXVI, 31-42), in which Ariosto narrates the killing of the Beast of Avarice.

We have, then, Ronsard and Du Bellay each publishing in the same year poems with an identical theme—the destruction of the Beast of Ignorance by a royal personage; we have also, in each case, a re-working of the " sotto il petto ha quasi ascoso il mare " simile, taken from Ariosto's description of the Orc. What happened here? Did Ronsard borrow from the *Musagnoemachie* the theme and the simile, and did he combine them? Or did Du Bellay take from the *Ode à Madame Marguerite* the simile and theme, which in his poem have no connection with each other? It is hardly likely that each poet, uninfluenced by the other, drew on two widely separated episodes of the *Orlando* for material which each wove into a single poem.

M. Raymond, in his thesis on *L'Influence de Ronsard sur la Poésie Française,*[40] gives it as his opinion that the *Musagnoemachie* is imitated from two poems of Ronsard's, the *Ode* of which we have been speaking and a *Hymne triomphal* in praise of the

[38] Cf. IV, 3, ll. 21-24, of the *Œuvres Poétiques* of Du Bellay, ed. by Henri Chamard, auspices of the Société des Textes Français Modernes, Paris, Cornély, 1908-1912 (Vols. I-III), and Hachette, 1919 (Vols. IV-V). For a full discussion of this poem, see p. 104 of this thesis.

[39] Cf. *op. cit.,* IV, p. 4 ,note 3.

[40] Marcel Raymond, *L'Influence de Ronsard sur la Poésie Française,* 2 vols. Paris, Honoré Champion, 1927 (Bibliothèque de la Renaissance). Cf. for his discussion of this question Vol. I, pp. 108-112.

Queen of Navarre; he points out, as the proofs of this contention, a similarity in theme, and a really striking similarity in verse-form, observable between the poems. Now as regards this latter point: it is quite true that the *Musagnoemachie,* which was published in October of 1550, is the first of Du Bellay's poems to be written in twelve-line stanzas of seven-syllable verse; and it is also true that in the *Odes,* which had been published as early as January or February of that year, this form occurs several times. But the verse-form of the *Ode à Madame Marguerite* is not exactly like that used by Du Bellay; in it twelve-line strophes and antistrophes are alternated with eight-line epodes; a closer parallel would be the *Ode au seigneur de Carnavalet,*[41] of which all the divisions, strophes, antistrophes and epodes have twelve lines each of seven-syllable verse. Again, both these poems are regular odes, patterned on classic models and with the divisions that I have mentioned. But the *Musagnoemachie* is too long to come under this classification; M. Raymond calls it a "long poème strophique"[42] and M. Chamard simply the *Musagnoemachie.*[43] The piece which *is* exactly identical in form with the *Musagnoemachie* is the *Hymne triomphal,* mentioned above; but—the *Hymne triomphal* was not published until April, 1551. M. Raymond[44] explains this by assuming that Ronsard, touched by the reproaches which Charles de Sainte-Marthe, in June of 1550,[45] directed at the poets of France for their failure to honor the dead Queen of Navarre, set to work at once and produced the *Hymne,* and then withheld it from publication until the *Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois, Royne de Navarre,* to which he donated it, was ready for printing. This is quite possible; on the other hand, it seems to me just as likely that Ronsard, pleased with Du Bellay's adaptation of the twelve-line stanza to a long strophic poem, imitated it, and that the *Hymne* was composed after the publication of the *Musagnoemachie* in October of 1550.

[41] Another of the *Odes* of 1550; cf. L. T. M., I, p. 90, etc.

[42] *Op. cit.,* p. 109.

[43] See his *Joachim Du Bellay,* Lille, Bigot Frères, 1900, p. 238, and his edition of the works of Du Bellay, IV, p. v.

[44] *Op. cit.,* p. 110.

[45] He had contributed a poem to the Latin "tombeau" composed in memory of the Queen by the sisters Seymour, and published in Paris, by the care of Nicolas Denisot, in 1550.

Returning to our principal subject, that is to a comparison of the contents of the *Ode à Madame Marguerite* and the *Musagnoemachie,* it should be pointed out that Du Bellay follows his sources in the *Orlando* much more closely, and in far greater detail, than does Ronsard. Du Bellay's attribution of the killing of the Beast of Ignorance to François Ier, and his lengthy description of the creature itself,[46] leave no room for doubt as to his indebtedness to the *Orlando,* XXVI; Ronsard, on the other hand, gives us no details about the Beast beyond what I have cited on p. 7; he says merely that Marguerite, in the allegorical character of Minerva, killed it. It might be supposed that Du Bellay had taken the idea of symbolizing Ignorance as a Beast from Ronsard, and had then gone for his description of it to the *Orlando;* but this is not the case: in the *Prosphonematique,*[47] published in June of 1549, he had already written:

> Comment te peut assez chanter la France,
> O grand FRANCOYS, des neuf Seurs adoré?
> Tu as defaict ce vil monstre Ignorance,
> Tu as refaict le bel aage doré.[48]

Ronsard had never, prior to the publication of his *Ode* in 1550, spoken of Ignorance as a Beast; Marot and Rabelais do not so visualize it, and I am inclined to think that the person who introduced this allegory into the struggle between the liberals and the reactionaries of his times, was Du Bellay. All things considered, if it were not for the fact that several stanzas [49] in the *Musagnoemachie* refer to events which occurred after the publication of the *Ode à Madame Marguerite,* one would be inclined to think

[46] See p. 105 of this thesis.

[47] For the history of this poem, and for the piece itself, see M. Chamard's edition of the works of Du Bellay, III, p. 61, etc. It was composed, as was the *Avantentrée du Roi* of Ronsard (on which cf. L. T. M., I, p. 17, etc.; also p. 5 of this thesis), on the occasion of the entry into Paris of Henri II, on June 16, 1549. Both poems are written in ten-syllable verse; the *Prosphonematique* observes alternance and is divided into stanzas, the *Avantentrée* does not observe regular alternance and is not divided. Both are full of classic allusions, etc.; M. Raymond (*op. cit.,* p. 106, note 2) considers it impossible to tell which was written first, or which influenced the other.

[48] Du Bellay, *Œuvres Poétiques* (Chamard edition), III, p. 70, ll. 139-142.

[49] Stanzas 12 and 13.

that Ronsard had taken and re-fashioned, from Du Bellay, what Du Bellay had originally taken from Ariosto. It is, of course, faintly possible that Du Bellay, in planning such an ambitious effort as the *Musagnoemachie,* had sketched a first draught of his poem some time in 1549, and had later added the stanzas mentioned above—he himself apologizes for the lack of order and sequence observable in the poem [50]—but this is mere conjecture; it must be finally observed, that the relationship between the *Ode,* the *Musagnoemachie,* and the *Orlando,* whatever its real nature, remains tolerably obscure.

In *A Caliope,* an ode in the manner of Horace,[51] we find some lines (65-74) in which Ronsard alludes to a number of characters in the *Orlando:* the hero himself, Angelica, Mandricardo, Ruggiero, and " le viellard, qui au son de ses charmes [52] Le devoié bâtiment a construit " (L. T. M., I, p. 178; ll. 73-74). This is an excellent example of that mingling of classic and Italian sources which I have already mentioned [53] as a characteristic of the poetry of Ronsard and his group. After 1584 these verses were omitted.

Stanza 68 of the celebrated description of Olimpia (*Orlando Furioso,* XI), which I have already quoted,[54] is given by M. Laumonier [55] as the source of lines 3 and 4 of the first stanza of the ode *A Macée.* He ascribes the same origin [55] to lines 4 and 5 of the sixth stanza of this poem. It seems to me that these latter verses might have been inspired by the " bel collo " and " due pome acerbe " of Alcina,[56] rather than by the beauties

[50] (In the second preface to the *Olive,* with which, in 1550, the *Musagnoemachie* was published.) Cf. the Chamard edition of the works of Du Bellay, I, pp. 23-24.

[51] Cf. L. T. M., I, pp. 174-179, notes.

[52] The *viellard* was Atalante, a magician. He had constructed an enchanted palace, from which, once entered, it was impossible to discover a way out; cf. *O. F.,* III, 7-33; XXII, 13-23. A variant of 1555 reads: " Ni le viellard qui murmurant ses charmes Avoit d'airain le vain palais construit." This refers to another exploit of Atlante's, who had planted on a high rock a castle of burnished metal, in which he imprisoned Ruggiero; cf. *O. F.,* II, 37-57.

[53] See p. x, above.

[54] See p. 4.

[55] Cf. his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 764, and L. T. M., I, p. 200.

[56] *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 14; and see p. 3 of this thesis.

of Olimpia; or perhaps, as not infrequently happened, Ronsard was thinking of both sources.

It is also possible that he took from the description of Alcina lines 2-4 of his third stanza, which celebrate his lady's eyes. According to M. Laumonier,[57] the eyes of Macée are imitated from two Latin models. The first of these is the ode *Lidia, bella puella candida,* one of the *Carmen ad Lydiam* attributed, in Ronsard's time, to Cornelius Gallus. The second occurs in Salmon Macrin's ode *Ad Gelonidem,* ll. 13, 14. M. Laumonier has shown conclusively [58] that the *Ad Lydiam* and the *Ad Gelonidem* were Ronsard's chief models for the ode *A Macée,* and certainly his lines in stanza 3 are similar to the two passages which I have just quoted; but Ariosto's description of the eyes of Alcina — " Sotto duo negri e sottilissimi archi Son duo negri occhi, anzi duo chiari Soli " [59] — should, I feel, be added as a third source, because in it we have for the first time the idea of the eyes *under* the brows, and a repetition of the word " two "; both these features, it will be noted, are found in the verses of Ronsard.

Lines 4-6 of the same stanza in the *Orlando* are imitated in another of the odes, *A sa guiterre* (stanza 20, " Ces yeus," etc.). The twenty-second and last stanza of the ode *A sa guiterre* contains, as M. Laumonier points out,[60] a simile borrowed likewise from the description of Alcina, *O. F.,* VII, 14, ll. 1-5. Ronsard had already imitated this famous passage in his Early Poems, and I have already quoted it in connection with them.[61]

In the ode *A sa Muse* Ronsard prays for the power to write majestic, resounding verses, that shall have the thunderous sweep of a river, when it floods its banks and bears away crops, herds, and herdsman (stanza 1, ll. 2-4; stanza 2). This seems to be a combination of details from Horace, *Carm.,* IV, ii, ll. 5-8, and the *Orlando Furioso,* XL, 31. The river simile was very commonly used, with various applications, by the great classic writers; cf. for instance Virgil, *Aen.,* II, 305-308; 496-499, and *Georg.,* I, 481-483; Homer, *Il.,* IV, 452-455; V, 87-92; Horace, *Carm.,* I, ii, ll. 5-12; IV ii, ll. 5-8; and Lucretius, *De Rer. Nat.,*

[57] Cf. his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 760-765.
[58] *Op. cit.,* p. 762, 763.
[59] *O. F.,* VII, 12, ll. 1, 2.
[60] See L. T. M., I, p. 234, note 1.
[61] See p. 3, above.

I, 281-289. Ariosto followed their example, and used it five times: once in his Fifth Elegy, " Forza è al fin che si scuopra e che si veggia," ll. 7-12, and four times in the *Orlando,* XXXVII, 92, and 110; XXXIX, 14; and the passage given above. In the latter, he speaks of the sheep and the shepherd being swept away by the waters; and this reference to the shepherd, which I have not found in any classic source, makes the passage distinctive.

Returning to the *Odes,* we find in the *A la Forest de Gatine* a sort of blessing or benediction (stanzas 7, 8), addressed by Ronsard to the forest, which shows, according to M. Laumonier,[62] a certain analogy with the good-wishes bestowed by Medoro on the sylvan spot where he had enjoyed the love of Angelica (*Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 108, 109).

The theme of the ode *A son lict* was taken, as M. Laumonier has shown,[63] from lines 28-33 of Ariosto's Sixth Elegy,[64] " O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara," in which the poet thanks the various objects which ministered to his amours. Besides a general resemblance of theme, certain lines in the ode *A son lict* are obviously imitated from lines in the Elegy: for example, the fourth line of the second strophe, " Et chaque nuit egale au plus beau jour " [65] comes from the " O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara, Dolce, gioconda, avventurosa notte " with which the Elegy begins.

It should be added to the findings of M. Laumonier, that when Ronsard speaks of the " charlit tremblant . . . . Ainsi qu'on voit des blés le chef mouvant Sous le soupir du plus tranquille vent," [66] he is imitating a simile which Ariosto, in the *Orlando* (XVI, 68, ll. 3-4), had applied to the wavering movements of two opposing armies.[67]

In stanza 5 of the second ode to the *Fontaine Bellerie* (" Argentine fontaine vive "), the poet complains that he is tor-

[62] Cf. L. T. M., I, p. 245, note 2; and his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 446, 447. M. Laumonier cites as an additional source the neo-Latin poet M. Ant. Flaminio, *Carm.,* lib. III.

[63] Cf. his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 515; and L. T. M., I, p. 257, note 2. M. Laumonier gives as additional sources Jean Second, *Eleg.,* II, 8, *Ad Lectulum,* and a *capitolo* by Olimpo di Sassoferrato, "Al letto stando con Madonna."

[64] See p. xv of this thesis.

[65] L. T. M., I, p. 258.

[66] Stanza 6, ll. 2-4; L. T. M., I, p. 259.

[67] Ariosto took this simile from the *Iliad,* II, 147-149; but cf. p. 19, below.

mented, during the hot summer days, when fever attacks him, by dreams of its cool waters. This may have been suggested to Ronsard by XXV, 43, ll. 1-5, of the *Orlando Furioso,* which describes the dreams of Fiordispina, tormented by a hopeless love.

In the ode *De la convalescence d'un sien ami,* written to celebrate the return to health of Joachim Du Bellay, Ronsard says of his friend (stanza 3, ll. 3-7), that he resembles a flower, pale and drooping after a heavy rain storm, which later revives in the sunshine.

When Issabella, one of the heroines of the *Orlando,* is reunited with her lover, Zerbino, joy produces in her the same effect (*O. F.,* XXIII, 67, ll. 4-8).

Of *Le baiser de Cassandre* M. Laumonier remarks,[68] that its sources are two tercets by Ariosto, and some scattered verses in the *Basia* of Jean Second. The tercets mentioned occur in the Sixth Elegy of Ariosto, "O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara," lines 22-27. They influence only one stanza of the *Baiser de Cassandre,* that in which Ronsard describes his lady's fragrant mouth (stanza 4).[69]

I feel that the influence of the *Orlando* is also present in this poem, particularly in stanza 1, and perhaps in stanza 5:

1.

Baiser fils de deus levres closes,
Filles de deus boutons de roses,
Qui serrent, et ouvrent ce ris
Qui deride les plus marris.
(L. T. M., II, pp. 43-44)

5.

Et vous mes petites montaignes,
Je parle à vous levres compaignes
Dont le Coral naïf et franc
Ouvre deus rans d'ivoire blanc.
(L. T. M., II, p. 45)

[68] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 43, note 4.
[69] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 44, note 3.

Compare with this Ariosto's description of the mouth of Alcina, *O. F.*, VII, 13:

> Sotto quel [70] sta, quasi fra due vallette,
> La bocca sparsa di natio cinabro:
> Quivi due filze son di perle elette,
> Che chiude et apre un bello e dolce labro:
> Quindi escon le cortesi parolette
> Da render molle ogni cor rozzo e scabro:
> Quivi si forma quel suave riso
> Ch'apre a sua posta in terra il paradiso.

It will be seen that Ronsard has transferred to the " ris " the power which Ariosto gave to the " cortesi parolette." [71] It is possible that the epithet " petites montaignes," which he applies to the lips, may have been suggested by Ariosto's phrase " quasi fra due vallette," for the lips rising out of these " valleys " could suggest hills; but the similarity between the verses of Ronsard and of Ariosto is not so much one of images as of phrasing: for example, the " chiude et apre " and " due filze di perle " of the *Orlando* become, in French, " serrent et ouvrent " and " deus rans d'ivoire." Many of the cases of *rapprochement* between the work of the two poets will be found to consist of just this sort of thing,[72] and it is natural that it should be so, for Ronsard was seeking to elevate and to " illustrer " his poetic vocabulary, and so would borrow felicitous phrases wherever he found them.[73]

The ode *A Cupidon, pour punir Janne cruelle,* is a conventional complaint to Love against the cruelty of the poet's mistress, full of imitations of the *Canzoniere* and the *Ars Amatoria;* two of its stanzas, however, may have been inspired by a passage in the *Orlando* They are 6 and 7, in which the poet implores the god to free him from a woman who only mocks at his sufferings, and to restore him to his former state of happy liberty.

[70] Ariosto has been describing the lady's nose.

[71] Cf. also Petrarch, *Canzoniere,* the following: *Oimè il bel viso,* ll. 3, 4; *Amor, se vuo',* ll. 82, 83; *Gli occhi di ch' io parlai,* ll. 6, 7.

[72] See, for example, p. 74 of this thesis.

[73] I do not intend that the *Orlando* should be considered the only source of stanzas 1 and 5. M. Laumonier has given, for stanza I, l. 2, J. Second, *Bas.,* I, *22*: " Humida de gelidis basia nata rosis."; and for stanza 5, ll. 3, 4, *Bas.,* XVII, 4: " Corallinis eburna signa baccis." Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 43, note 5; p. 45, note 1.

In one of the Laments of Bradamante,[74] that of *O. F.*, XXXII, 81-25, the heroine expresses herself in a similar strain; Ruggiero's continued absence has made her feel that he scorns her love; she reproaches the absent one bitterly for his cruelty, and wishes herself heart-free once more (19; 20, ll. 1-4).

La defloration de Lede, à Cassandre, begins thus (stanza I):

Le cruel amour vainqueur
De ma vie sa sugette,
M'a si bien écrit au cueur
Vostre nom de sa sagette,
Que le tens qui peut casser
Le fer et la pierre dure,
Ne le sçauroit effacer
Qu'en moi vivant il ne dure.
(L. T. M., II, pp. 67, 68)

M. Laumonier suggests [75] as the source of the first four lines of this stanza Petrarch, *Canzoniere, Quando io movo i sospiri,* first quatrain. As an additional source, however, and for the whole stanza, I would propose three passages in the Letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero,[76] *O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66: they are St. 62, ll. 1-4; 65 and 66.

In the fifth stanza of the *Defloration de Lede* Jupiter is described as disguising himself, for love of Leda, as a swan,

Sous un plumage plus blanc
Que le laict sus la jonchée.
(ll. 7, 8; L. T. M., II, p. 70)

As M. Laumonier remarks,[77] this comparison is frequent in the poems of Ronsard; he has already used it in the ode *A Macée.*[78] It comes, of course, from the description of Olimpia, *Orlando Furioso,* XI, 68, ll. 3, 4.[79]

The ode *De l'election de son sepulcre* begins with an apostrophe to Nature (stanzas 1, 2), in which the poet begs the fields and forests, the rocks and fountains, to hearken to his voice.

M. Laumonier had spoken, in his *Ronsard poète lyrique,*[80] of the frequency with which the Italian poets, beginning with

[74] See p. xvi.
[75] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 67, note 3.
[76] See p. xvi.
[77] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 70, note 1.
[78] See p. 11 of this thesis.
[79] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 70, note 1.
[80] Pp. 449, 450.

Petrarch, introduced descriptions of woods, streams and flowery fields into their songs, and of the influence which this had had upon the work of Ronsard. He compares [81] these two stanzas to a canzone of Petrarch's, *Chiare, fresche et dolci acque.* The canzone is too long to be given here, but another, and perhaps a closer parallel, which I should like to add, is the Fifteenth Elegy of Ariosto, "O lieta piaggia, o solitaria valle," ll. 1-6 and 13-19.

The ode *A Cassandre* [82] begins (ll. 1, 2):

> Nimphe * * qui souffles de ta bouche
> Une Arabie à qui prés s'en approuche
> (L. T. M., II, p. 127)

M. Laumonier gives as sources [83] for these lines the Sixth Elegy of Ariosto, ll. 25-27, and a passage in the *Orlando:* VII, 29, ll. 3-6. He had already indicated these passages as having inspired certain verses in the *Ode à Jacques Peletier, des beautez qu'il voudroit en s'Amie.*[84]

Of the fourteen pieces collected under the title *Le Bocage* and published with the *Odes,* two show imitation of the work of Ariosto. The first of these is the ode to Cassandre beginning "Si cet enfant qui erre." [85] In it Ronsard speaks of his lady's

> Noirs yeus lascifs,
> Armés d'archiers sourcis,
> Qui mille fleches tirent
> Dans les miens.
> (ll. 21-24; L. T. M., II, p. 164)

M. Laumonier places this passage in *rapprochement* with the "Stellatos oculos, puella, pande, Et supercilii nigrantis arcum" of Macrin's *Ad Gelonidem,*[86] and with the descriptions of the eyes of Laura to be found in the sixth, seventh and eighth canzoni in the *Canzoniere.*[87] The conception, however, of the eyebrows as bows which shoot arrows from the eyes, piercing the

[81] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 97, note 2.

[82] This is not to be confused with two pieces in the *Bocage* which have the same title.

[83] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 127, note 2.

[84] See p. 4.

[85] There is another *A Cassandre* in the *Bocage;* it begins "Le printens vient."

[86] On this poem, see p. 12.

[87] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 164, note 2.

lover, is to be found not in the verses of Macrin nor in those of Petrarch, but in ll. 1-5 of the much admired Sixth Sonnet of Ariosto,[88] which Du Bellay imitates at length in one of the sonnets of his *Olive,* 1549.[89] I feel, then, that this should be added as a source of the passage in the ode *A Cassandre.*

The second piece shows the influence of the *Orlando.* Ariosto had used, in beginning the last canto (XLVI) of his epic, a device which was no less effective than politic: he had pictured himself as returning in triumph after having accomplished a long and difficult voyage; his ship was coming home to port. As it neared the shore, there came to him over the water a sound of trumpets, of congratulations and of joyful cries; drawing closer still, he saw that it proceeded from a host of friends and acquaintances assembled on the beach to welcome him. He named all these people in turn, with an appropriate compliment to each one; and thus cleverly took advantage of the excellent opportunity which he had given himself, to pay, in print, his respects to a multitude of personal friends, patrons, and contemporary poets and scholars [90] (*O. F.,* XLVI, 1-19).

Ronsard, in the ode *A son retour de Gascogne, voiant de loin Paris* (stanzas 2-5), resorts to a similar invention, for which he is very possibly indebted, as M. Laumonier points out,[91] to Ariosto. He is presumably returning by land; but as he approaches the city he recognizes those who are waiting to greet him, and recites their names.

In sonnet 129 of the *Regrets,* Du Bellay imitated, much more closely than Ronsard has done here, the opening stanzas of Canto XLVI. But the *Regrets* were composed later, between 1555 and 1558,[92] while M. Laumonier believes the ode to have been written in 1547; [93] so that it appears to have been Ronsard, and not Du Bellay, who led the way to this passage in the *Orlando.*

Ronsard's contributions to the *Tombeau de Marguerite de Valois,* 1551,[94] were a translation of a Latin ode by Jean Dorat,

[88] See p. xv.

[89] The date of composition of the *A Cassandre* is uncertain; it may have been as early as 1545. Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 163, note 1.

[90] See p. 112 of this thesis.

[91] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 201, note 2.

[92] Cf. Henri Chamard, *Joachim Du Bellay,* p. 362.

[93] Cf. L. T. M., II, p. 199, note 2; and his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 37.

[94] For the origin of this *Tombeau,* see p. 9.

and three original pieces. Of these latter, the most pretentious is a *Hymne triumphal sur le trepas de Marguerite de Valois,* which begins with the query (stanza 1): Who will strengthen my voice, who will give wings to my words, and fire my breast with poetic ardor? M. Laumonier gives [95] as the source of these lines stanza 1 of the third canto of the *Orlando Furioso,* and says that a *rapprochement* between the two passages was first noted by Etienne Pasquier, in his *Recherches de la France,* liv. VI, chap. 9. The third canto of the *Orlando* contains a most flattering account of the origin of the family of Ariosto's patrons, the Estensi, which explains why it opens with a very similar movement (stanza 1).

The *Hymne* is a "psychomachie": [96] it tells how the saintly side of Marguerite's nature, or l'Esprit, fights with and overcomes her worldly desires, personified as la Chair. Each of these champions is supported by an army of good or of evil qualities, as the case may be; and Ronsard describes, by a double simile taken from the *Orlando Furioso,* the advance of the swarming troops of Chair (stanza 8, ll. 91-96):

> Ainsi l'horrible Guerriere
> Pressoit ses bandes derriere
> Pour les pousser en avant,
> Ondoiants de rang, comme undes
> Ou comme les foretz blondes
> Des espicz, soufflés du vent.
> (L. T. M., III, p. 59)

He had previously, in another poem,[97] used the second part of this simile; it comes, in its entirety, from *Orlando Furioso,* XVI, 68, ll. 1-6, wherein the Christian and Moorish forces engage in battle:

> La fiera pugna un pezzo andò di pare,
> Che vi si discernea poco vantaggio.
> Vedeasi or l'uno or l'altro ire e tornare,
> Come le biade al ventolin di Maggio,
> O come sopra 'l lito un mobil mare
> Or viene or va, nè mai tiene un vïaggio.[98]

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[95] Cf. L. T. M., III, p. 55, note 1; and his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 415-419.

[96] Cf. L. T. M., III, p. 57, note 2.

[97] The ode *A son lict;* cf. p. 13, above.

[98] Cf. on this simile p. 13, above.

In 1552 appeared the famous volume which bore the title of *Les Amours. Ensemble le Cinqiesme des Odes.* It contained: first, an introductory sonnet, "Divin troupeau, qui sur les rives molles"; next, the *Amours* proper, 182 love-sonnets, a *chanson,* and an *amourette;* then the *Cinqiesme Livre des Odes,* composed of 12 pieces, of which only seven—six odes, and a long poem called *Les Bacchanales*—were new; and finally a sonnet, "Va Livre, va, deboucle la barriere," which served as a kind of epilogue.

With the two sonnets which begin and close the volume we are not concerned, for they show no imitation of the work of Ariosto. The odes and the *Bacchanales* will be taken up later; our present interest is the *Amours.*

M. Vianey has discovered *rapprochements* with the *Orlando* or the *Opere Minori* in Sonnets 156, 160, and 165 of the *Amours,* also in the *Chanson;*[99] M. E. Parturier, in Sonnets 114 and 140;[100] M. Laumonier, in Sonnets 71, 80, 104, 134, 168, and in another part of the *Chanson.*[101] Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees has found additional *rapprochements* in Sonnet 3;[102] and Signor Ferdinando Neri in Sonnets 65 and 92.[103] My own findings constitute the remaining items in the discussion that occupies the following pages; before engaging in it, I should like to point out that in the *Amours* the imitations of the *Opere Minori* have increased in number until they equal those of the *Orlando.*

Lines 5-7 of the first sonnet in the series, "Qui voudra voyr comme un Dieu me surmonte," show a similarity of expression with certain verses in the *Orlando,* IX, 2. The lines in the sonnet read:

> Qui voudra voir une jeunesse prompte
> A suyvre en vain l'object de son malheur,
> Me vienne voir.
>
> (L. T. M., IV, p. 5)

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[99] Cf. "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 295 sqq.; his *Le Pétrarquisme en France an XVI siècle,* Montpellier, Coulet, 1909, adds nothing new on this subject.

[100] Cf. "Quelques sources italiennes de Ronsard," *Rev. de la Ren.,* VI (1905), 1 sqq.

[101] Cf. his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* and L. T. M., Vol. IV.

[102] Cf. "Some Debts of Samuel Daniel to Du Bellay," *Mod. Lan. Notes,* XXIV (1909), 134 sqq.

[103] Cf. "Nota ai 'Regrets,'" *Athenaeum,* VII (1919), 185 sqq.

Ariosto, speaking with comic resignation of his own fondness for the ladies, had called himself " Sano e gagliardo a seguitare il male " (l. 4).

In Sonnet 2, " Nature ornant la dame qui devoyt," Ronsard declares that the first sight of his lady made upon his heart an unforgettable and imperishable effect (ll. 11-14) :

> D'un si poignant trait,
> Le fier destin l'engrava dans mon ame,
> Que vif ne mort, jamais d'une aultre dame
> Empraint au cuoeur je n'auray le portraict.
> (L. T. M., IV, p. 7)

He probably borrowed these protestations from the famous Letter of Bradamante,[104] *O. F.*, XLIV, 61, ll. 1-2, and 65, ll. 1-4.

Miss Ruutz-Rees points out [105] that Sonnet 3, " Dans le serain de sa jumelle flamme," is imitated from the Sixth Sonnet of Ariosto, " La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," [106] in which the Italian had likened his lady's hair to a golden net, and her eyebrows to little bows which shot arrows from her eyes ; and had declared, that although held a prisoner by her tresses, and mortally wounded by her glances, he found his state such a happy one, that he had no desire to change it.

It will be recollected that Ronsard had already imitated the Sixth Sonnet in an ode, *A Cassandre,* which may have been written in 1545.[107] Then, in 1549, Du Bellay also had published, in his *Olive,* a sonnet entirely based on it,[108] in which he had added the image " flame " to the net and darts sung by Ariosto. As Miss Ruutz-Rees observes, Ronsard has for this detail followed the sonnet of Du Bellay rather than its Italian model.

M. Laumonier notes [109] that the manner in which the images are presented in Sonnet 3 is suggestive of that of Petrarch, and gives for comparison two pieces in the *Canzoniere,* " Perché quel " and " L'aura soave." I should like to add to these three more, " Nova angeletta," "Amor fra l'erbe " and " Quel sempre acerbo," ll. 10, 11.

[104] See p. xvi.

[105] See " Some Debts of Samuel Daniel to Du Bellay," *Mod. Lan. Notes,* XXIV (1909), 135.

[106] See p. xv, above.

[107] See p. 17, above.

[108] Sonnet 10; see p. 96.

[109] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 8, note 1.

The quatrains of Sonnet 6, " Ces liens d'or, ceste bouche vermeille," are likewise imitated from some of Petrarch's verses, but M. Laumonier [110] points out that Ronsard has introduced into this imitation a single line—" Et de ce sein les boutons verdeletz " (l. 6)—inspired by the " Due pome acerbe " of Alcina, *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 14, l. 3.[111]

Sonnet 7, " Bien qu'à grand tort il te plaist d'allumer," seems to me to be modeled, especially in its quatrains and final tercet, on the Eighth Sonnet of Ariosto, " Ben che 'l martir sia periglioso e grave."

The Twenty-third Sonnet, " Ce beau coral, ce marbre qui souspire," gives a highly fanciful account of the beauties of Cassandre, which, says the poet (ll. 9-11),

> Me sont au cuoeur en si profound esmoy,
> Qu'un autre object ne se presente à moy,
> Si non le beau de leur beau que j'adore.
> (L. T. M., IV, p. 27)

This suggests the concluding lines of the Ninth Madrigal of Ariosto, " La bella donna mia d'un si bel fôco " ; the madrigal, like the sonnet, describes Madonna's loveliness, and it ends with a similar play on the words " bella " and " beltade " (ll. 17-19).

Sonnet 58 begins with a pathetic question: with what plant, what healing root, unguent, or liquor shall the poet anoint his wounded heart?

> Ny vers charmez, pierre, ny medecine,
> Drogue, ny just, ne romproyent ma langueur.
> (L. T. M., IV, p. 60)

M. Laumonier [112] brings these two lines into *rapprochement* with the first quatrain of a sonnet in the *Canzoniere* of Petrach, " I begli occhi, ond'i' fui percosso in guisa." To this might be added two passages in the poems of Ariosto; the first occurs in the *Orlando Furioso,* XXXI, 5; and the second in the Tenth Elegy, " O vero o falso che la fama suone," ll. 67-69.[113]

In Sonnet 65, " Du tout changé ma Circe enchanteresse," Ronsard declares that Cassandre has so bewitched his reason that nothing can break the spell; the counter-charms of the an-

[110] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 11, note 1.
[111] See p. 3.
[112] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 60, note 2.
[113] Cf. also Du Bellay, *Olive,* Sonnet 99 (on which see p. 100, below).

cients would be of no avail; even the ring of Ruggiero could not help him (ll. 12-14).[114] As Signor Neri points out,[115] the reference is to an episode in the *Orlando,* VII, 64-74: the knight Ruggiero, who has fallen a prey to the magic arts of Alcina, is living with her a life of voluptuous idleness; but the wise enchantress Melissa, bent upon his rescue, places on his finger a ring which has power to undo all charms, and he sees Alcina as she really is—a hideous, wrinkled hag.

Signor Neri also calls attention[116] to the fact that when, in 1560, Ronsard changed his lines to " Mais pour mon sens remettre en mon cerveau, Il me faudroit un Astolphe nouveau Tant ma raison s'aveugle de ma faute," [117] he was alluding to another history recounted in the *Orlando,* XXXIV, 82-87; XXXIX, 56-61, in which the English knight Astolfo visits the Valley of Lost Things and there recovers the wits of Orlando, missing since the latter went mad for the love of Angelica. The wits are placed in a vial, and Astolfo causes Orlando to inhale them through his nose, after which he is perfectly restored to his senses.

In Sonnet 71, " Si l'escrivain de la mutine armée," Ronsard says to his Cassandre, that had she been one of the contestants who appeared before Paris, the shepherd-prince would have given the apple not to Venus, but to her (ll. 5-8). As M. Laumonier remarks,[118] this conceit comes from the *Orlando Furioso,* XI, 70, ll. 1-4 (description of Olimpia).

Sonnet 72, " L'astre ascendant, soubz qui je pris naissance," ends in the following manner (ll. 9-14):

> En toy je suis, et tu es dedans moy,
> En moy tu vis et je vis dedans toy:
> Ainsi noz toutz ne font qu'un petit monde.
> Sans vivre en toy je tomberoy là bas:
> La Salemandre, en ce point, ne vit pas
> Perdant sa flamme, et le Daulphin son onde.
> (L. T. M., IV, p. 74)

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[114] Compare with this two sonnets in the *Regrets* of Du Bellay: 88, ll. 5, 6; 89, ll. 5-8. For these see pp. 111, 112 of this thesis.

[115] See his " Nota ai 'Regrets,'" *Athenaeum,* VII (1919), 186, 187.

[116] *Op. cit.,* p. 187.

[117] L. T. M., IV, p. 67. Compare with this Sonnet 88, ll. 12-14 of the *Regrets,* for which see p. 111 of this thesis.

[118] Cf., L. T. M., IV, p. 73, note 1.

The last three lines might be compared with the final verses of a *capitolo* (Cap. 1, "Del bel numero vostro avrete un manco") written in 1514 or 1515 [119] by Ariosto when he lay sick of a fever in a little town in the Apennines. The malady is, he says, a punishment sent by Love, because he has dared to absent himself from Ferrara and from his lady. Without doubt he is doomed to die in this place, far from her beneficent presence; but at least may his bones not rest in alien soil; may they be carried to Ferrara, and there above his tomb let there be written (ll. 94-97), that even as a mole will die when taken from the ground, or a fish when taken from the water, so had this faithful lover perished when separated from his adored one. Did Ronsard imitate this, and did he substitute the more imposing salamander for the humble mole? It is true that no trace of the Platonic conception of two beings merged into one is to be found in the poem of Ariosto; this somewhat diminishes, but does not quite destroy, the similarity of the two conclusions. Be it added that M. Laumonier gives [120] as the source of the salamander simile Petrarch, *Canzoniere,* "Ben mi credea," ll. 40, 41—and, through him, the troubadours.

Sonnet 80, "Depuis le jour, que le trait otieux," contains the lines (5, 7), "Mon cuoeur attaint d'un esclair rigoreux . . . . S'alla cacher dans tes ondes d'ivoire." This appellation was of course suggested, as M. Laumonier remarks,[121] by the verses in the description of Alcina, *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 14, ll. 3-5, which I have already quoted several times in connection with Ronsard's previous imitations of them.[122]

The sources of the first quatrain of Sonnet 84, "Si doulcement le souvenir me tente," are unknown to me, although line 2 may have been suggested by the opening line of a poem in the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch—"Quel sempre acerbo et honorato giorno." But lines 5-14 of the sonnet are, I think, another [123] adaptation of the second quatrain and the tercets of Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet;

[119] Polidori gives these details in his edition of the *Opere Minori,* Florence, Le Monnier, 1857, Vol. I, p. 250, note 1.

[120] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 74, note 3.

[121] Cf. L. T. M., IV, 81, note 2.

[122] See p. 3.

[123] Ronsard had imitated the Sixth Sonnet several times before: see pp. 5, 13.

"La rete fu di queste fila d'oro." The sonnet of Ronsard is more jovial in mood than its Italian model: his wounds are not supposed to be mortal, and he desires to be rewarded not with a sigh, but with a kiss.

In Sonnet 92, "Entre tes bras, impatient Roger," Ronsard refers again to the loves of Ruggiero and Alcina.[124]

It was Signor Neri who first noted this sonnet's relation to the *Orlando*.[125] The quatrains resume briefly a story told in stanzas 23-29 of the seventh canto of the epic. The tercets, however, he considers as a reference to Ruggiero's arrival at the city of Logistilla; this interpretation I find it difficult to accept. Cantos VII, 75-80, and X, 43-57, of the *Orlando* tell how Ruggiero, cured of his infatuation for the evil fairy Alcina,[126] resolves to escape from her court and make his way to the realm of Logistilla (who personifies Virtue and Chastity). He flees by water, and, although pursued by the navies of Alcina, arrives safely in the port of Logistilla, and is led by some of her attendants to her castle. It is hardly this, however, to which Ronsard could have referred, in the eleventh line of his sonnet, by the words "port amoureux." On the contrary: Ariosto himself says of Logistilla (*O. F.*, X, 46, ll. 4-8) that the love which she inspires is untainted by desire. The "port amoureux" refers, in my opinion, to Alcina, and Ronsard's remark that Ruggiero reached it "En peu de temps" (l. 9), to the fact that she received Ruggiero as her lover on the evening of the very day that he arrived at her court. As for the metaphor employed in the tercets, I think its sources are most likely to be found in the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, in such poems as "Chi è fermato," "Passa la nave mia," and "Lasso, Amor mi trasporta."[127]

Sonnet 102, "O de Nepenthe, et de lyesse pleine," is, I find, except for its thirteenth and fourteenth lines, a close imitation of Ariosto's Third Sonnet, "O sicuro, secreto e fido porto."

M. Laumonier gives[128] as the source of the concluding lines of Ronsard's sonnet an ode of Horace, *Ad Pyrrham, Carm.*, I, 5, ll. 13-16.

[124] See p. 23 of this thesis.

[125] Cf. his "Nota ai 'Regrets,'" *Athenaeum*, VII (1919), 186, 187.

[126] The personification of Idleness and Vice; this story is given in more detail on p. 111 of this thesis.

[127] Compare also *Orlando Furioso*, XLIV, 67, ll. 4-8.

[128] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 101, note 4.

Sonnet 104 begins with the lines:

> Ce ne sont qu'haims, qu'amorces et qu'appastz,
> De son bel oeil qui m'alesche en sa nasse,
> Soyt qu'elle rie, ou soyt qu'elle compasse
> Au son du Luth le nombre de ses pas.
> (L. T. M., IV, pp. 102-103)

This is, as M. Laumonier points out,[129] another bit of borrowing from the description of Alcina, *O. F.*, VII, 16, ll. 1, 2.

In lines 9-11 of the same sonnet Ronsard says, after vaunting the charms for which he endures "un millier de trespaz":[130]

> Mais le tourment, qui moyssonne ma vie,
> Est si plaisant que je n'ay point envie
> De m'eslonger de sa doulce langueur.
> (L. T. M., IV, p. 103)

This may have been inspired by lines 9-11 of Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, which Ronsard had already imitated in Sonnets 3 and 84 of this collection.[131]

In an article written for the *Revue de la Renaissance,* 1905, M. Parturier mentioned [132] the resemblance between Sonnet 114 of the *Amours,* "Un voyle obscur par l'orizon espars," and the Seventeenth Sonnet of Ariosto, "Chiuso era il sol da un tenebroso velo," previously imitated by Du Bellay.[133]

M. Laumonier, while admitting a similarity between the two, remarks [134] that certain details of Ronsard's sonnet (notably in the second quatrain and second tercet) are taken from two poems in the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, "Quando dal proprio sito" and its companion-piece, "Ma poi che 'l dolce riso."

Sonnet 117, "Entre mes bras qu'ores ores n'arrive" breathes a sigh for the "bon vieux temps" (ll. 9-14):

> Et pourquoy, Cieulx, l'arrest de vos destins
> Ne m'a fait naistre un de ces Paladins
> Qui seulz portoyent en crope les pucelles?
> Et qui tastant, baizant, et devisant,
> Loing de l'envie, et loing du mesdisant,
> Dieux, par les boys vivoyent avecques elles?
> (L. T. M., IV, p. 115)

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[129] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 103; there is, however, a printer's error here: Stanza 16 is given as Stanza 12.

[130] Line 8.

[131] See pp. 21, 24.

[132] *Quelques sources italiennes de Ronsard,* p. 21.

[133] In the *Olive,* Sonnet 11; see p. 97 of this thesis.

[134] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 112, note 4.

M. Laumonier remarks in a note [135] that the knights mentioned here might be those of Ariosto's epic. Brandimarte, Zerbino, and Orlando had all acted as escorts to various lovely ladies; [136] and Ariosto himself had envied them; cf. *Orlando Furioso,* XIII, 1.

The famous passage in the description of Olimpia, *O. F.,* XI, 68, ll. 3-6, again makes its influence felt, as M. Laumonier notes,[137] in Sonnet 134, " Quel bien auray-je apres avoir esté," lines 7, 8.

M. Parturier first called attention [138] to the fact that Sonnet 140, " Ce fol penser pour s'en voler plus hault," is from beginning to end an imitation of Ariosto's Fifth Sonnet, " Nel mio pensier, che così veggio audace."

In Sonnet 156, " Son chef est d'or, son front est un tableau," we have an imitation of the much-admired Twenty-second Sonnet [139] of Ariosto: " Madonna, sete bella, e bella tanto." It was M. Vianey who in 1901 pointed out [140] that this sonnet had been imitated at length by the three most noted members of the Pléiade; by Du Bellay [141] in 1549, by Baïf [142] in 1555, and by Ronsard in the *Amours* of 1552. Of the three imitations, that of Du Bellay seems to me to have caught best the spirit of its model; being the least pretentious in style, it has something of the charmingly intimate, faintly quizzical note which Ariosto knew so well how to sound. Ronsard's adaptation is, of course, less stiff than Baïf's, but he has forced into it a couple of classical allusions which we would gladly be quit of.

M. Vianey [143] has shown that the first eight lines of Sonnet 160, " Ces flotz jumeaulx de laict bien espoissi," are a combination of two well-known passages in the descriptions of Alcina and of Olimpia: *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 14, ll. 3-5, and XI, 68,

[135] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 115, note 2.

[136] *Orlando Furioso,* VIII, XXXIX; XXIII, XXIV.

[137] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 130, note 2.

[138] In " Quelques sources italiennes de Ronsard," *Rev. de la Ren.,* VI (1905), 21.

[139] See p. XV.

[140] In " L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 296-297.

[141] *Olive 7*; see p. 96.

[142] *Amour de Francine;* see p. 125.

[143] In his " L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 298-299.

ll. 3-8, both of which have already been quoted several times in the pages of this thesis.[144]

He also calls attention[145] to the fact that in Sonnet 165, "Quand le grand oeil dans les Jumeaux arrive," Ronsard, following the example of Du Bellay,[146] has imitated stanzas 38-39[147] of the most famous of the laments of Bradamante, that of *O. F.*, XLV, in which the heroine bewails the continued and inexplicable absence of her lover, which causes her a thousand jealous fears.

In Sonnet 168, "Un sot Vulcan ma Cyprine faschoit," Ronsard gives us a little description of his mistress in a fit of temper, her eyes at once flashing with anger and filled with tears. Apparently she was none the less charming in this condition, for he says (ll. 5-11): that he saw Love bathing his wings in her tears, and drying them at her bright eyes; and that her face was like a spring sky, at once clouded and radiant.

The metaphor comes, as M. Laumonier has remarked,[148] from the description of the weeping Olimpia, *Orlando Furioso,* XI, 65.

Finally, the song "Las, je n'eusse jamais pensé" contains a quantity of material taken over from the *Orlando.* Its first stanza was probably inspired, according to M. Laumonier,[149] by a stanza in one of the laments of Bradamante—that of *O. F.,* XXX, 82.[150] Here the similarity between the two is not a very striking one; it was perhaps a case of suggestion, rather than of deliberate imitation.

The last five stanzas of the *chanson* (8-12), on the other hand, give obvious indications of their source. It is, as M. Vianey first pointed out,[151] the Letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero, one of the most famous and most generally imitated passages in the epic:[152] *O. F.,* XLIV, 61-66. M. Laumonier, in discussing the

[144] See pp. 3, 4.

[145] *Op. cit.,* p. 298, note 3.

[146] In the *Olive,* 31; see p. 98, below.

[147] Not stanza 37, as given by Vianey, and by Laumonier, L. T. M., IV, p. 157, note 2.

[148] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 160, note 1.

[149] Cf. L. T. M., IV, p. 173, note 1; also his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 483, note 1.

[150] Not 80, as in L. T. M.

[151] In "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 298, note 4.

[152] See p. xvi, above.

transfer of this material to the *chanson,* remarks [153] that it has undergone great modifications, and that Ronsard, perhaps with a desire to give his poem more unity and concision than its model possessed, has entirely departed from the order in which ideas are presented in the letter; thus the *chanson,* although not based on original material, remains an entirely personal composition.

A detailed discussion of the manner in which the stanzas from the *Orlando* were worked into the *chanson,* and of its other sources in the poetry of Petrarch, is given by M. Laumonier in his *Ronsard poète lyrique* (Paris, Hachette, 1909), pp. 482-485.

Only two of the seven new pieces in the *Cinquiesme Livre des Odes* [154] show *rapprochement* with the work of Ariosto. The first of these is the ode *A Michel de l'Hospital,* in which M. Laumonier has discovered passages imitated from the Sixth Elegy [155] and from the *Orlando.*

The influence of the Sixth Elegy is very slight here: it is restricted to a couple of lines (171, 172; Strophe 6) in which Ronsard describes the Muses' preparing to sing before their father, Jupiter:

> Elles ouvrant leur bouche pleine
> D'une doulce Arabe moisson.
> (L. T. M., III, p. 128)

This M. Laumonier, as he has done in the case of similar expressions in the *Ode à Jacques Peletier* [156] and one of the odes to Cassandre,[157] brings into *rapprochement* [158] with lines 22-28 of the Sixth Elegy, and with *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 29, ll. 4-6.[159]

Later the malice and ignorance of men drive the Muses from the Earth; they flee to Olympus, and there remain, until the day arrives when they are destined to return below; then Jupiter conducts them to a room in which are seated the Fates, spinning an unusually beautiful skein. This is to be the life-thread of l'Hôpital; when it is ready, Jupiter endows the future chancellor

[153] Cf. *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 483-485.
[154] Published with the *Amours,* 1552; see p. 20 of this thesis.
[155] "O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara"; see p. xv.
[156] See p. 4.
[157] See p. 17.
[158] Cf. L. T. M., III, p. 128, note 2.
[159] See p. 25.

with every grace and virtue, and sends him to Earth to be the protector of the Muses ("Adonc Juppiter . . . . Ores vous . . . . ").

On the description of the Fates M. Laumonier gives a note: "Pour ce tableau des Parques filant les vies humaines dans l'Olympe, Ronsard a pu s'inspirer de Platon, *Rép.* X (vision de l'Arménien Er), et de Catulle, *Epith. de Pélée;* plutôt de l'Arioste, *Orl. fur.,* XXXIV, st. 87." [160]

The episode in the *Orlando* to which M. Laumonier has reference occurs during Astolfo's trip to the Moon in quest of his cousin's wits.[161] Having found them, he is taken by his guide, Saint John the Apostle, to see the various wonders of the Moon-world: he is led into a palace, where he beholds the Fates, spinning, and attended by their servant, Time (stanzas 87, ll. 5-8; 88-91).

To my mind, however, the most interesting feature of this imitation is not what Ronsard took from Canto XXXIV, but what he has borrowed from the following Canto, XXXV; for it is here that we are suddenly made aware that the description of the Parcae was undertaken by Ariosto merely as a sort of introduction to, or pretext for, a long passage in praise of his patron, the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este. Ariosto was fond of such devices.[162] In the present case, he manages his compliments as follows: Astolfo perceives a fleece of exquisite color and texture, which has not yet been spun by the Fates; upon his asking whose life it is to be, he is informed by Saint John that it is that of a very paragon of beauty, wisdom, goodness, and erudition—in a word, Ippolito (XXXV, 3-5 and 8-9).

This was the model on which Ronsard patterned his praise of l'Hôpital. Ariosto himself probably took the idea from Catullus, *Epithalamium of Peleus and Thetis,* ll. 338-370 (prophecy of the birth of Achilles); but a comparison of the three poems will demonstrate that Ronsard imitated the prophecy in the *Orlando,* and not that of the *Epithalamium.*

Having finished the story of the Muses, the poet turns his ode to its conclusion with an antistrophe ("Hâ chere Muse, ...")

[160] Cf. L. T. M., III, p. 153, note 1.

[161] On which see p. 23 of this thesis.

[162] Cf. for example that used in *O. F.,* XLVI, I, etc., which both Ronsard and Du Bellay imitated (see p. 31 of this thesis). Cf. also *O. F.,* III and XIII.

of which M. Laumonier remarks:[163] "Cette antistrophe est imitée de l'Arioste, *Orl. fur.*, XLVI, st. 1 et suiv., où l'auteur, parvenu au terme de son voyage poétique, repose ses regards sur la rive pleine d'amis qui attendent son retour. Ronsard s'en était déjà souvenu dans l'ode *A son retour de Gascogne,*[164] et s'en souviendra encore dans les *Isles fortunées.*[165] Du Bellay reprendra cette fiction dans le sonnet 129 des *Regrets.*[166] Cf. F. Neri, *Fanfulla della Domenica* de mars 1916, article intitulé *La Nave di Ronsard.*"

I have been unable to obtain the periodical in which Signor Neri's article appeared; but it would seem that it was he who first called attention to this case of *rapprochement.*

The other poem in this group which may owe something to the work of Ariosto is the *Bacchanales ou le Folastrissime Voyage d'Hercueil, pres Paris, dedié à la joyeuse trouppe de ses compaignons, fait l'an 1549.* M. Laumonier says of the occasion which inspired it,[167] "Il s'agit d'une grande promenade à Arcueil, que firent en juillet 1549 Jean Dorat et ses élèves du collège Coqueret." The narration is long and rambling, but gives none the less an effect of lively actuality; there appear in it not only Ronsard and Dorat, but Du Bellay, Baïf, Nicolas Denisot, and a number of other well-known figures. They start at dawn for the fields outside Paris, and Ronsard, in his impatience, urges on Aurora, but begs her to modify the rays of the Sun, so that his fierce mid-summer heat may not offend the revellers. The prayer is not granted, and he spitefully wishes her ill-success in her love-affairs (ll. 205-222). M. Laumonier considers[168] that the movement here comes from the *Amores* of Ovid, 1, 13, in which the poet rails at the Dawn for coming to disturb his amours (ll. 31-48).

But Ovid does not call down maledictions upon Aurora's head, nor wish her any evil; this emphatic touch seems to have been first introduced by Ariosto, in his famous Sixth Elegy, "O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara,"[169] lines 58-64. In

[163] Cf. L. T. M., III, p. 157, note 2.
[164] See p. 12 of this thesis.
[165] See p. 34.
[166] See p. 112.
[167] Cf. L. T. M., III, p. 184, note 1.
[168] Cf. L. T. M., III, p. 196, note 2.
[169] On which see pp. xv, 38 of this thesis.

this point Ronsard's verses resemble those of Ariosto; and since we know that the Sixth Elegy was one of his favorites [170] among the *Opere Minori,* it too may very well have been in his thoughts when he wrote the stanzas in the *Bacchanales.*

Let me add that Baïf has concluded one of the sonnets in his *Amours de Méline* [171] by some lines which are almost identical in form with the last stanza in the passage from the *Bacchanales.*[172]

In May of 1553 Ronsard published the second edition of the *Amours,* augmented by thirty-nine new sonnets, a *chanson,* and four "pieces diverses." Three of these sonnets show to a greater or lesser degree the influence of the *Orlando,* and three that of the *Opere Minori.* Imitation of the *Orlando* also occurs, as M. Laumonier has shown,[173] in two of the "pieces diverses," the *Ode à Saint Gelais* and the *Isles fortunées.*

M. Parturier had in 1905 pointed out [174] that the sonnet "Ny de son chef le tresor crépelu" is similar in theme to Ariosto's Twelfth Sonnet, "Altri loderà il viso"; M. Laumonier had noted a simile from the *Orlando* in the sonnet "Plus mile fois que nul or terrien." [175] The other cases of *rapprochement* I have added.

First to be considered is the sonnet "Contre mon gré l'atrait de tes beaus yeus." Love and despair, says the poet, are sapping his life; yet she who is the cause of all his woes remains indifferent. She hates her faithful lover, laughs at his mortal torments, and refuses to succor him by keeping faith; is she not a real murderess?

This is reminiscent of the sentiments expressed by Bradamante in her two laments of Canto XXXII (18, ll. 1-5; 19, and 40, 41), when Ruggiero's continued failure to send her any message has convinced her of his indifference.

The next sonnet, "Ha seigneur dieu que de Graces écloses," [176] begins with a description of his mistress's "sein verdelet"

[170] For his imitations of this poem, see pp. 5, 13, 38 of this thesis.

[171] Published in December of 1552; the *Amours* of Ronsard had appeared in September or October of that year.

[172] For Baïf's sonnet, see p. 121 of this thesis.

[173] Cf. p. 31, above.

[174] "Quelques sources italiennes de Ronsard," *Rev. de la Ren.,* VI, 21.

[175] Cf. L. T. M., V, 138, note 4.

[176] Var.: "Que de beautez, que de grace écloses."

(ll. 1-6). This is another of Ronsard's countless imitations of the two famous passages in the descriptions of Alcina, *O. F.*, VII, 14, l. 3, and of Olimpia, *O. F.*, XI, 68, ll. 3-6.[177]

Almost as frequently apparent in the work of Ronsard is the influence of Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro."[178] Its tercets appear to have inspired the first eight lines of a sonnet in the *Amours* of 1553, "Amour me tue, et si je ne veux dire," in which the lover professes to be so content with the amorous malady that is shortening his days, that he has no desire to be healed, even by his lady. It is also possible that in this case Ronsard was influenced by his own earlier imitations of the Sixth Sonnet,[179] and by the version published by Du Bellay in the *Olive*, 1549.[180]

The sonnet "Ny de son chef le tresor crépelu," which is, according to M. Parturier,[181] an adaptation of Ariosto's Twelfth Sonnet, "Altri loderà il viso, altri le chiome."

Its model is the second of two sonnets[182] based on a theme—the perfection of Madonna's spirit, its ennobling effect upon everyone with whom she came into contact—which Ariosto and his contemporaries took from Petrarch,[183] and which the latter had perhaps taken from Dante.[184]

Du Bellay had preceded Ronsard in the imitation of this sonnet: see his *Olive*, 18.[185]

The next poem shows us Ronsard in a somewhat less resigned frame of mind:

> Mon dieu, mon dieu, que ma maistresse est belle![186]
> Soit que j'admire ou ses yeux mes seigneurs,
> Ou de son front les dous-graves honneurs,
> Ou l'Orient de sa lévre jumelle.
> Mon dieu, mon dieu, que ma Dame est cruelle!
> (ll. 1-5; L., I, pp. 24, 25)

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[177] Cf. pp. 3, 4, above, where they are quoted.

[178] See p. XV and p. 180.

[179] In the *Amours* of 1552; see p. 21.

[180] Sonnet 10; see p. 96.

[181] Cf. his "Quelques sources italiennes de Ronsard," *Rev. de la Ren.*, VI (1905), p. 21.

[182] The first is 11, "Quando prima i crin d'oro."

[183] Cf., in the *Conzoniere*, such poems as "Chi vuol veder" and "Amor, se vuo,'" stanza 6.

[184] Cf. the *Vita Nuova*.

[185] See p. 97 of this thesis.

[186] Var.: "Amour, Amour, que ma maistresse est belle!"

The movement here is reminiscent of the opening lines of the Twenty-second Sonnet [187] of Ariosto, which Ronsard had already imitated in the *Amours* of 1552: [188]

> Madonna, sete bella, e bella tanto,
> Ch'io non veggio di voi cosa più bella.
> Miri la fronte, o l'una e l'altra stella,
> Che mi scorgon la via col lume santo;
> Miri la bocca . . . .
>
> (ll. 1-5)

Ronsard's use of the phrases " Ou de " and " Ou le " are duplicated by lines 9 and 10 of this poem:

> O di terso alabastro il collo e'l seno,
> O braccio o mano;

Finally, the abrupt and effective change of theme—" belle," " cruelle "—might have been suggested by the " surprise-ending " of Sonnet 22, in which, after having sung Madonna's praises for a full eleven lines, Ariosto suddenly concludes:

> Tutto è mirabil certo. Nondimeno,
> Non starò ch'io non dica arditamente,
> Che più mirabil molto è la mia fede.
>
> (ll. 12-14)

Another case of *rapprochement* occurs in the sonnet " Plus mile fois que nul or terrien," [189] the second quatrain of which is inspired by Ariosto's description of the bosom of Alcina, *O. F.*, VII, 14, ll. 1-5.[190]

Lines 157, 158 of the *Ode à Melin de Saint Gelais* are taken from *O. F.*, XXVII, 121.

In one of the longer poems, the *Isles fortunées,* addressed to Marc-Antoine de Muret, we find a passage (" Que songes-tu? . . . . Cà que j'embrasse . . . . ") in which, as M. Laumonier has remarked,[191] Ronsard imitates once more [192] the opening stanzas (1-19) of Canto XLVI of the *Orlando;* like Ariosto, the French poet feigns that he is standing in a boat, and being saluted, with shouts and gestures, by a multitude of friends on

[187] See p. xv of this thesis.
[188] See p. 27 of this thesis.
[189] See p. 33, above.
[190] See p. 3.
[191] Cf. p. 31, above; for the other sources of this poem, cf. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 108-112.
[192] He had imitated them twice before; cf. pp. 12, 30 of this thesis.

shore. Ariosto, however, had represented himself as just returning from a long voyage; and Ronsard is supposed to be on the point of setting out.

In August of the same year (1553) appeared the second edition of the *Cinqiesme livre des Odes. Ensemble la Harangue que fit Mgr le Duc de Guise aus soudars de Mez.* It contained eight new pieces, and the *Harangue.*

The best-known of these new odes is probably the one to the *Fontaine Bellerie,* beginning "Je veus, Muses aus beaus yeus." Because his Cassandre had once bathed herself in the fountain,[193] it is in the eyes of the poet honored and glorified above all the waters of the Earth. He applies to it every variety of endearing epithet, casts roses and lilies, milk and honey upon its surface, then offers a prayer to the rustic deities for its preservation ("Ces beaus vers . . . . Ne honnisse . . . . ").

M. Laumonier believes that this prayer was inspired partly by one of the odes of the Neo-Latin poet Flaminio,[194] but chiefly by an episode in the *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII; the story is as follows: Orlando, after having sought vainly during many months King Galafron's daughter Angelica, with whom he is infatuated, comes at last to a grotto near a woodland spring. Observing some verses engraved on the stones at the mouth of the cave, he draws near and reads them; to his horror, they are a blessing pronounced by one Medoro, a poor squire, on the spot which has witnessed his amours with Angelica, the daughter of Galafron. The fortunate Medoro prays that their trysting-place may be held in reverence by all true lovers, and protected by the Sun, the Moon, and the Nymphs, who will keep it from being spoilt by the rough shepherds and their flocks (XXIII, 108, 109). Grief and jealousy soon drive Orlando mad; he wanders aimlessly through the wood, until, happening again upon the grotto by the water, his wrath breaks out into violence: he shatters the rock on which Medoro's verses are written, uproots all the trees and hurls them into the spring, and leaves the once-lovely place desolate and befouled (XXIII, 129-131).

[193] M. Laumonier remarks (L. T. M., V, 238, note 1) that three verses in the description of Cassandre bathing come from *O. F.,* VII, 14 (description of Alcina). Cf. the lines "Son sein, . . . Ralenter . . . ."

[194] *Carmina* III, "Irrigui fontes"; cf. *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 446, 447.

This is the famous Madness of Roland episode, of which certain stanzas [195] were repeatedly imitated by the members of the Pléiade, and to which frequent references will be made in the course of this thesis.

As the sources of the passage in the ode to the Bellerie fountain, M. Laumonier gives, for the first part ("Ces beaus vers" to "A sa face remirée") the verses which Medoro had carved in the rock, *O. F.*, XXIII, 108, 109; [196] and for the rest ("Ne jamais quelque Roland," etc.) the stanzas which describe Roland's spoiling the fountain, *O. F.*, XXIII, 129-131.

Only one other of the new pieces in this collection shows any trace of the influence of Ariosto's poetry. It is the *Elegie, en forme d'Epitaphe d'Anthoine Chasteigner,* in which occur the lines,

> Bien qu'il soit entonbé d'une pierre étrangere,
> Et que . . . . sa piteuse mere
> . . . . N'ait cuilli de sa lévre à-lentour de sa bouche
> L'ame fuiante.
>
> (L., V, p. 276)

This expression deserves some discussion, because it recurs so frequently in the poems of Ronsard.[197] Its most direct and logical source is, to my mind, part of a stanza in the twenty-fourth Canto of the *Orlando,* wherein is told the tragic death of Zerbino, Prince of Scotland. Zerbino is dangerously wounded in attempting to prevent the theft, by a Pagan knight, of the sword of Orlando; he dies from loss of blood, while his lady, Issabella, clasps him in her arms, begs him not to leave her, or else to permit her to die with him, and then,

> Così dicendo, le reliquie estreme
> De lo spirto vital che morte fura,
> Va ricogliendo con le labra meste,
> Fin ch'una minima aura ve ne reste.
>
> (XXIV, 82, ll. 5-8)

Campari, in a note to his edition of the *Orlando,*[198] gives as the source of this Virgil's *Aeneid,* IV, 683-85 (Anna's words when she sees her wounded sister).

M. Laumonier, who has noted the reappearance of the conception in various of Ronsard's poems, gives [199] as its sources

[195] Stanzas 124-128.
[196] Cf. *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 450; and L. T. M., V, notes.
[197] See pp. 64, 66, 79, 85 of this thesis.
[198] Published by Hoepli, Milan, 1915; cf. p. 433.
[199] Cf. L., VII, p. 405.

three passages in the works of Ovid: *Metamorphoses,* VII, 861, and XII, 424; and *Ars Amatoria,* III, 746. But Ronsard's manner of expressing this idea is usually reminiscent of the style of Ariosto rather than of that of Virgil or of that of Ovid; moreover, on one occasion he imitates Issabella's entire lament for the dying Zerbino.[200]

More than a year later, in November of 1554, Ronsard published *Le Bocage,*—" which should not be confused," says M. Laumonier,[201] " with that of 1550,[202] and with the *Bocage royal* of 1584." This volume [203] contained a number of new pieces, of which three owe something of their composition to material taken from the *Orlando* (in one case, from the description of Olimpia,[204] and in two from the scene in which Orlando goes mad),[205] and of which another, a sonnet, may have been inspired by a passage in the Seventh Elegy of Ariosto, though it cannot be affirmed with certainty that this was its source.

First of the four is a sonnet beginning " L'amant est une beste, et beste est qui s'empestre Dans les liens d'amour." [206] Its tercets carry on the idea, and liken the lover to a bird caught in bird-lime, whose struggles to be free only serve to entangle it the more. Ariosto had said of Orlando, whose fruitless efforts to convince himself of Angelica's fidelity [207] only increased his jealous fears, that he resembled such a bird (*O. F.,* XXIII, 105, ll. 1-6). Poor Orlando loses his wits through jealousy,[208] and Ariosto begins his next canto with the warning: " Chi mette il piè su l'amorosa pania, Cherchi ritrarlo, e non v'inveschi l'ale." These verses may have influenced the opening lines of Ronsard's sonnet.

Also from the description of Orlando's going mad come two verses in the sonnet " Morfée, si en songe il te plaist presenter." [209] Ronsard speaks of Love as fanning with his wings the flames which are consuming the poet's heart (ll. 7, 8). The

[200] See p. 64 of this thesis.

[201] Cf. *Tab. Chron.,* p. 15.

[202] Published with the *Quatre premiers livres des Odes.*

[203] From now on all citations given will be from the Laumonier edition of the works of Ronsard published by Lemerre; see p. 1, above.

[204] See p. xvi.

[205] See p. xvi.

[206] Var., *Tab. Chron:* "Ah, que malheureus est celui-là qui s'empestre."

[207] For this story, see p. 65 of this thesis.

[208] For this story, see p. 35, above.

[209] *Tab. Chron.:* " Morfée, s'il te plaist de me representer."

miserable Orlando had said of his sighs, that they were a breeze raised by the wings of Love, who kept stirring up the fire that burned his heart (*O. F.*, XXIII, 127, ll. 5-8).

The third sonnet, " Cache pour ceste nuit ta corne, bonne Lune," belongs to a particular type of erotic poetry much in vogue in France and Italy during the sixteenth century. Its theme is that of the lover, who, bound for a secret meeting with his fair, prays that the night may be dark and cloudy, in order that he may go unseen to his rendezvous.[210] Ariosto's Sixth [211] and Seventh Elegies are of this type; Ronsard's sonnet was perhaps inspired by both the elegies, and especially by the Seventh, " O ne' miei danni più che'l giorno chiara," which is a complaint against a clear moonlit night. In this poem Ariosto reminds Diana that Endymion had won her heart with the present of a white fleece (ll. 13-18); Ronsard speaks of Pan as the giver of the gift (first tercet), and M. Laumonier indicates [212] as the source of the tercet Virgil, *Georgics*, III, 391-393.

The last case of *rapprochement* occurs in a long poem " en forme d'Elegie," *La Mort de Narcisse*. Ronsard describes the boy as having a skin whiter than clotted milk (" Si bien . . . . Qui plus . . . . "). The simile comes, of course, from the verses in the description of Olimpia (*O. F.*, XI, 68, ll. 3, 4) which I have quoted above in connection with one of Ronsard's previous imitations of them.[213]

In the same month that he published the *Bocage* (November, 1554) Ronsard brought out his *Meslanges;* everything in this collection was new, except the half of an *odelette*.[214]

M. Vianey had in his article on *L'Arioste et la Pléiade* [215] called attention to the fact that one of the most important pieces in the volume, the famous *Elégie à Janet peintre du Roy*,[216] contained a quantity of details imitated from the descriptions

[210] Cf. on this poetry A. Salza, *Studi su Ariosto*, pp. 68-80.

[211] On which cf. pp. xv, 5, 13, above.

[212] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 188.

[213] See p. 4 of this thesis.

[214] Cf. *Tab. Chron.*, p. 17.

[215] *Bul. It.*, I (1901), 295 sqq.

[216] In the Blanchemain edition of the works of Ronsard, used by M. Vianey, it appears as the *Epître à Janet.*

of Alcina and Olimpia.[217] He later pointed out [218] that another of these poems, *Les Armes,* showed the influence of certain passages in the *Orlando.* The same may be said, I find, for three more pieces in the collection, but imitation of the *Opere Minori* is only once apparent in this volume.

Let us consider first the *Elégie à Janet.* Ronsard is asking the painter to make a portrait of his Cassandre; and in order to give him some idea of what the task will involve, he begins to describe the lady in the most exaggerated terms, heaping adjective on adjective, and simile on simile, until the effect is highly artificial.

His description of her brows (" Son beau sourcy . . . . Car l'arc . . . . ") is evidently inspired by a line from Ariosto's portrait of Alcina, *O. F.,* VII, 12, l. 1, and by ll. 2-4 of his Sixth Sonnet, " La rete fu di queste fila d'oro." Her nose (" Ny court, ... Parmi . . . . ") and her mouth (" Mais par sur . . . . Bien poliment . . . . ") resemble those of Alcina, *O. F.,* VII, 12, ll. 7, 8; 13, ll. 3-8. Her throat (" Plus blanc . . . . Comme . . . . ") is as graceful as Alcina's, and as white as Olimpia's: *O. F.,* VII, 14, ll. 1-2, and XI, 68, ll. 3, 4. For his description of Cassandre's bosom (Ainsi qu'en . . . . D'un oranger . . . . "), and for the mock-modest declaration with which he prefaces it (" Mais si . . . . Estre semblable . . . . . "), Ronsard has again taxed *O. F.,* VII, 14. Her trunk and thighs (" Un peu . . . . Comme celuy . . . . "; " Ses cuisses . . . . Ainsi . . . . "), however, are modeled on those of Olimpia, *O. F.,* XI, 69, ll. 1-4; but for the feet of Cassandre (" Les pieds . . . . ") he turned again to Alcina, *O. F.,* VII, 15, l. 6.

The thoroughness with which Ronsard lists every feature—hair, forehead, eyebrows, eyes, and so on—should probably be considered another proof of the influence of the *Orlando.* This completeness of detail when describing feminine beauty is particularly characteristic of the manner of Ariosto; it is, of course, true that it is also a characteristic of the work of Jean Lemaire,[219] but in this case it is perfectly obvious that Ronsard is imitating the *Orlando,* and not the *Illustrations de Gaule.*

[217] See p. XVI of this thesis.

[218] In " L'Arioste et les discours de Ronsard," *Revue Universitaire,* 1903, 473, etc.

[219] Cf. for example, in his *Illustrations de Gaule et singularitez de Troye,* Livre I, Ch. 33, the description of Venus.

Besides M. Vianey's remarks on the *Elégie à Janet,* given in pp. 298, 299 of his article on *L'Arioste et la Pléiade* (*Bul It.,* I, 1901), there is a discussion of the sources of this poem in the *Ronsard poète lyrique* of M. Laumonier, pp. 504, 505. Moreover, M. Raymond, in his thesis on *L'Influence de Ronsard sur la Poésie française,*[220] compares at some length (Vol. I, pp. 142-144) the *Elégie* with a song in Baïf's *Amours de Méline*[221] (1552), which he believes to have been its model.[222]

The next poem of interest to us is an ode, " J'avoy les yeux et le coeur." Although as a whole the ode was certainly inspired, as M. Laumonier demonstrates,[223] by certain poems of Petrarch's,[224] the lines in which Ronsard describes his heart as tormented by " La flame trop inhumaine, Que de ses ailes Amour M'esvente tout à l'entour " (L., II, p. 359), seem to be taken from *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 127, ll. 5-8 (part of the scene in which Orlando goes mad), which he had also imitated in a sonnet in the *Bocage.*[225]

Two pieces which must be discussed together are the *Discours du verre*[226] and *Les Armes.* Both are addressed to Jean Brinon, Counselor of Parliament; the first, written to thank Brinon for the gift of a drinking-glass, contains the following reflexion:

> Ceux qui jadis les Canons inventerent,
> Et qui d'enfer le fer nous apporterent,
> Meritoient bien que là bas Rhadamant
> Les tourmentast d'un juste chastiment.
> (L., III, p. 315)

Ronsard then proceeds to contrast with these wretches the praiseworthy inventor of glass, and to extol the usefulness and beauty of his product.

But in *Les Armes,* after describing the casting of a cannon, the mixing of gunpowder, and the terrible effect produced when the loaded gun shoots forth its whistling ball, and Heaven and

[220] *Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance,* Paris, H. Champion, 1927; II Vols.

[221] On which see p. 120 of this thesis.

[222] But M. Raymond's argument is somewhat weakened by the fact that both poems have an identical source; see p. 120, as above.

[223] Cf. *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 485-488; and L., notes, VII, p. 285.

[224] *Occhi piangete; Verdi panni; Di dí in dí* (*Canzoniere*).

[225] See p. 37.

[226] First published as the *Elégie du Verre;* Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 383.

Earth seem to shake from the blast ("Une balle . . . . En craquetant . . . . ") he repeats, in a slightly different form and at much greater length, the idea expressed in the *Discours du verre;* that the inventor of guns and gunpowder is worthy of the most dire chastisement, for his invention had made the feeble coward equal in might to the hero, and had driven chivalry from the world ("De quel . . . . Tue Achille . . . . "). M. Vianey pointed out [227] that the passages in *Les Armes* were merely echoes of the contempt for firearms expressed by Ariosto in the *Orlando Furioso,* IX, 75, ll. 1-7; 90, ll. 4-8; 91, ll. 1-6; and XI, 26; 27, ll. 1-2, 6-8; 28, ll. 1-4. Cf. also *O. F.,* IX, 28, 29, 74; XI, 24, 25.

It is obvious that the short passage in the *Discours du verre* has the same sources, especially *O. F.,* IX, 91, and XI, 27, 28. Since the *Discours* is generally assumed to have been written before *Les Armes,*[228] it is possible that this passage may have caused some discussion between Ronsard and his friend, and led to Brinon's presenting Ronsard with the panoply—sword, dagger, pistol, and so on [229]—for which *Les Armes,* odd though it may seem, is intended as an expression of gratitude.

Likewise dedicated to Jean Brinon is another poem which shows a certain amount of *rapprochement* with portions of the *Orlando: Le Houx.* The ivy-hung grotto, shaded by many trees, carpeted with moss and watered by a little stream on whose bank the nymph Hous [230] falls asleep, is very similar to the one to which Angelica and her Medoro were in the habit of retiring during the heat of the day,[231] *O. F.,* XXIII, 100-109. On the other hand, the whole episode—the nymph, tired by hunting and drowsy from the heat, who falls asleep in a bower in the woods, where she is discovered by an unwelcome suitor—is reminiscent of one of the most charming scenes in the *Orlando:* I, 35-52, when the sleeping Angelica is awakened by King Sacripante.[232]

[227] Cf. "L'Arioste et les discours de Ronsard," *Revue Universitaire,* 1903, p. 474.

[228] Cf. M. Laumonier's *Tableau Chronologique,* and L., notes, VII, p. 471.

[229] Cf. the closing lines of *Les Armes,* L., V, pp. 33, 34.

[230] L., V, pp. 167-169. The name "Hous" appears as "Houx" only in the title.

[231] On which see p. 35 of this thesis.

[232] On which see pp. 150, 163 of this thesis.

Of course such situations are common enough in the poems of Ovid; but it was Ariosto who first stressed at length the pastoral setting, which the classic author had been content to sketch in with a few lines.

La Continuation des Amours (1555) was a notable addition to Ronsard's achievements in the field of lyric poetry; it contained ninety new pieces, of which seventy were sonnets, seven odes, and thirteen epigrams. Less than a tenth of these show imitation of the work of Ariosto; in the group (six sonnets and an ode) in which traces of his influence are discernible we find a case of *rapprochement* with the description of Olimpia,[233] and another with the scene in which Orlando goes mad.[234] The *Opere Minori,* however, are imitated just as frequently as is the *Orlando.*

In the *Continuation* Ronsard no longer celebrates Cassandre, but Marie. The sonnet "Marie vous avez la jouë aussi vermeille" purports to be a description of this new mistress; but its complimentary phrases much resemble those formerly employed in praise of Cassandre: thus line 9, "Vous avez les tetins comme deux monts de lait" (L., I, p. 133), contains a simile taken from the description of Olimpia, *Orlando Furioso,* XI, 68, ll. 3, 4, which Ronsard has used over and over again.[235]

In the next, "Marie, qui voudroit vostre nom retourner," he admits this propensity to love (ll. 13, 14); no existence, he says, is pleasurable without Venus and her son; may the hour in which he ceases to love be his last. Ariosto had concluded his Thirteenth Elegy, "Piaccia a cui piace, e chi lodar vuol lodi," which is a glorification of love, in a very similar manner (ll. 40-43): "I wish," he says, "to love always, be my locks dark or white; and at the hour when this desire leaves me, let the Parcae cut my vital thread."

In another sonnet, "Tu as beau, Jupiter, l'air de flames dissoudre," Ronsard declares that he no longer has any physical body — love's flames have entirely consumed his frame; he is therefore no longer a man, but a ghost (ll. 9-14). This is evidently an adaptation of the words of Orlando, when, tormented by the jealous pangs that at last drive him out of his mind, he

[233] *O. F.,* XI, 65-71; cf. p. xvi of this thesis.
[234] *O. F.,* XXIII, 121-136; cf. p. 35 of this thesis.
[235] Cf. p. 4, where it is quoted.

cries that his sufferings have metamorphosed him (*O. F.*, XXIII, 127, 128).

Marie could hardly have been treating her lover graciously at the time when he addressed to his friend Pardaillan [236] the sonnet "Quiconque voudra suivre Amour ainsi que moy." His remarks on the heartlessness and frivolity of women are concise but stinging, and he ends with an ironical warning to lovers (ll. 9-14). I believe that the three concluding lines are a translation of the complaint of Rodomonte of Sarza, one of the chief characters in the *Orlando Furioso,* whose lady, the beautiful Doralice, has deserted him for another man (*O. F.*, XXVII, 119, ll. 1-6).

Among the seven odes [237] in this collection is one addressed to the poet Remy Belleau, "Belleau, s'il est permis aux hommes d'inventer," in which Ronsard declares that Love is not an archer, but a "harquebuzier," whose weapons and ambushes are the eyes, hair and bosom of Cassandre [238] (ll. 11-20). It is possible that Ronsard has attempted here a variation on the theme of Ariosto's famous Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," which he had frequently imitated before.[239]

By the time he wrote the sonnet "Plus que jamais je veux aimer, maitresse," Ronsard had evidently become reconciled to Marie, and was ready to bear with patience all her caprices. The tone of the tercets is especially submissive:

> Desja deux ans evanouis se sont
> Que vos beaux yeux en me riant, me font
> La playe au cœur, et si ne me soucie
> Quand je mourrois d'un mal si gracieux:
> Car rien ne part de vous ny de vos yeux
> Qui ne me soit trop plus cher que la vie.
> (L., VI, p. 248)

This may have been inspired by lines 1-4 of Ariosto's Eighth Sonnet; I am the more inclined to think so because Ronsard had already imitated the Eighth Sonnet in his *Amours* of 1552.[240]

From the same poem Ronsard may have imitated the tercets of another sonnet, "Dame, je meurs pour vous, je meurs pour

[236] Jean de Pardaillan, *protonotaire* of Pangas. Cf. L., VII, p. 194.
[237] Cf. p. 42, above.
[238] This ode was evidently written before the sonnets to Marie.
[239] See p. xv of this thesis.
[240] *Amours,* Sonnet 7; see above, p. 22.

vous, madame." " You cannot say that I am not sincere," says he, " for my affliction is obvious ":

> Non, vous ne me pouvez reprocher que je sois
> Un effronté menteur, car mon teint et ma voix,
> Et mon chef ja grison vous servent d'asseurance,
> Et mes yeux trop enflez, et mon cœur plein d'émoy.
> Hé que feray-je plus! puis que nulle credence
> Il ne vous plait donner aux témoins de ma foy.
> (L., VI, p. 254)

The movement here resembles lines 9-12 of Ariosto's sonnet

In the latter part of 1555 Ronsard turned to a new verse-form and brought out his first volume of *Hymnes*. This was significant because it indicated that his first period of heavy lyric production was drawing to a close; there was yet to come the *Nouvelle Continuation des Amours* (1556), but after it, and until he compiled the *Cinquième Edition Collective* (1578), Ronsard was to write *hymnes, discours, mascarades,* and *Tombeaux* rather than sonnets, and to find his inspiration in ambition, and not in love. He was also to write fewer odes; M. Laumonier, in discussing the change, explains thus his abandonment of the lyric forms:[241] " The lyric rhythms demand more labor and skill than the others, and consequently require more leisurely composition; while the alexandrine or decasyllabic verses, rhymed in couplets, are nearer to prose, and therefore easier to write and more proper to the genres which I shall call *practical,* such as the *épître,* the *discours,* the pastoral, the elegy, and any poem having for its subject a request, a eulogy, a moral satire, or an expression of gratitude. Between 1555 and 1560,[242] Ronsard composed chiefly practical poetry. He consecrated the greater part of his talent, even during his sojourns in the Vendômois, to the solicitation of great persons, or of those near to them, from the king and the king's favorite to the *trésoriers de l'espargne* and the royal secretaries."

[241] Cf. his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 179.

[242] M. Laumonier is considering only the years between the publication of the first volume of *Hymnes,* and the appearance of the *Première Edition Collective;* but his remarks apply to the whole of Ronsard's "political period" (1556-1578), when he was soliciting Henri II, Queen Catherine, Charles IX, and Henri III, and indulging in skirmishes with the Protestants.

There are fifteen *hymnes* in the first collection; only one of them shows any imitation of the poetry of Ariosto. This is the *Hynne*[243] *de la justice, à Charles Cardinal de Lorraine,* addressed to one of the influential persons whose patronage Ronsard desired. The poet proclaims himself unequal to the task of celebrating Charles's glorious ancestors, the Guises, or even of doing justice to the virtues of the Cardinal and his brothers, whose greatness in peace and in war surpasses that of any mortals seen by the all-seeing Sun; perhaps in the future some more gifted writer may assume this enterprise, but he, Ronsard, will content himself with describing only one of the Cardinal's good qualities ("Un plus sçavant . . . . L'une de . . . . "). This virtue is, of course, justice. The idea and movement here, as well as certain of the phrases, are taken from the opening stanzas of Canto III of the *Orlando* (III, 2, ll. 1-4, and 3, ll. 1-4).

The fact that only one imitation of the *Orlando* occurs in the first volume of *hymnes* would seem to indicate that Ronsard was turning away from the poetry of Ariosto at the same time that he began to reject the lyric forms; but a perusal of the *Deuxième livre des Hymnes* (1556) corrects this impression; the group comprises five poems, and two of these contain a quantity of material taken from the *Orlando Furioso.*

The first is the *Hynne*[244] *de Calays et de Zethés,* which repeats a story found in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, Lib. II, ll. 178-300, and in the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, Lib. IV, ll. 422-528; it runs as follows: Phineus, King of Thrace, having offended the Gods by his indiscreet prophecies, has been punished by blindness and by a plague of harpies, who swoop down and snatch from him every morsel that he attempts to eat. At last the Argonauts arrive at his court; among them are Calaïs and Zetes, the winged sons of Boreas; and these two, compassionate of his misery, resolve to assist him. A table is spread with food; the harpies hover over it and gorge themselves, but Calaïs and Zetes, drawing their swords, spring into the air and drive them away, never to return.

Ariosto had adapted this legend in the thirty-third canto of the *Orlando Furioso,* stanzas 102-128.[245] Phineus became

[243] So spelled in L., though the *Tableau Chronologique* gives *Hymnes.*

[244] Cf. *supra.*

[245] Cf. Pio Rajna, *Le Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso,* Florence, Sansoni, 1900, pp. 528-537.

Senapus, King of Ethiopia, who was rescued from the harpies by Astolfo, the English knight, mounted on the flying hippogryph.[246] In order to increase the interest of the scene, Ariosto makes the harpies appear twice: the first time Astolfo attacks them from the ground with his sword, but the blade makes no impression on their enchanted bodies; they take what they desire, and fly away. Then the knight orders that another meal be prepared and set out; the harpies return; he leaps on the hippogryph, and sounding a magic bugle, which has power to terrify every creature that hears it, he pursues the pests and drives them utterly away.

The device of having the harpies appear a second time, which is not found in either of the *Argonauticas,* Ronsard imitates from the Orlando ("La Zethe . . . . Ravissant . . . . ").

When Ronsard describes Zetes and Calaïs as running a few steps before springing into the air, like cranes before they take flight ("Zethés du premier . . . . Les enfans . . . . "), he is imitating another portion of the *Orlando,* II, 49, ll. 1-6, in which Ariosto pictures the hippogryph taking flight.

As the harpies, chased by Calaïs and Zetes, dash yelling through the air, the other Argonauts are represented by Ronsard as gazing after them in wonder, following them with their eyes till they are lost to view ("Les Preux . . . . Du desir . . . . "). This detail comes also from the *Orlando,* IV, 48; Ruggiero, the young hero whom Bradamante loves, mounts the hippogryph, which suddenly unfurls its wings and bears him off, much to his lady's discomfiture; she is left straining her eyes upward in doleful astonishment (IV, 47, 48).

The long *Hynne de Pollux et de Castor* is imitated, as M. Laumonier has pointed out,[247] from the Twenty-second Idyl of Theocritus, and contains additional material taken from the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, Lib. II, and from the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus, Lib. IV. It was written as a companion-piece to the *Hynne de Calays et de Zethés,*[248] and imitates, like the earlier *hymne,* not only the *Argonauticas* but the *Orlando.*

[246] Cf. p. 111 of this thesis.

[247] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 457.

[248] In which Ronsard announces that he will write next of Castor and Pollux; Cf. L., IV, pp. 184, 185, and VII, p. 456.

When Castor and Pollux are charged by Idas and Lynceus with having abducted the daughters of Leucippus, the resulting dispute, and its violent conclusion, are likened by Ronsard to the mounting fury of a wind-storm, which, starting as a gentle breeze, swells gradually in violence until it tears down trees, topples over great boulders, and lashes the sea to foam (" De la simple . . . . Renverse . . . . "). This comes, I find, from a somewhat similar episode in the *Orlando Furioso,* XXIV, 99; Mandricardo, King of Tartary, has stolen the bride of Rodomonte of Sarza;[249] one day it chances that the two kings meet; they shout defiance at each other and then engage in a terrible duel, which Ariosto has described by the simile given above.[250]

Castor and Lynceus fight each other single-handed, while their brothers look on. Ronsard's picture of the opponents crouching, feinting, and leaning first to one side, then to the other, seeking a chance to attack, is imitated from II, 9, ll. 3-8 of the *Orlando* (a duel between Rinaldo and Sacripante).

Castor is wounded in the left arm; the blood flows down over his hand:

> Le sang jeune et vermeil sur la main luy ondoye
> Semblable à la couleur de ceste rouge soye,
> Dont les filles d'Asie empourprent de leurs doigts
> Les riches vestemens des Princes et des Rois.
> (L., IV, p. 297)

When Zerbino, the Scottish prince, fights with Mandricardo for the arms of Orlando,[251] the former is wounded and his armor covered with blood, which Ariosto likens to a purple thread, drawn through a silver cloth by " Quella bianca man più ch'alabastro,[252] Da cui partire il cor spesso mi sento " (cf. *O. F.,* XXIV, 65, ll. 7, 8; 66, ll. 1-4).

[249] Cf. above, p. 43.

[250] Cf. also Dante, *Inf.,* IX, 67, etc.; Lucr., *De rer. nat.,* I, 272, etc.; and Statius, *Theb.,* XII, 625-627.

[251] For this story see above, p. 36.

[252] " Quella bianca man ": the hand of Alessandra Benucci-Strozzi, with whom the poet was in love. For obvious reasons, Ronsard has substituted " filles d'Asie "; I suppose he was thinking of the many classic references to women weaving; cf. for example the *Iliad,* Book XXII; Andromache is weaving a purple web, when the news comes that Hector has been slain by Achilles.

The last two *rapprochements* are especially interesting, because Ronsard later transferred both these passages, in the same order in which they occur in the *Hynne,* to his *Franciade* (1572), Livre II, the combat of Francus and Phovère. Cf. pages 82, 83 of this thesis.

With the publication of the *Nouvelle Continuation des Amours* (1556), what I have termed Ronsard's early lyric period comes to an end.[253] This volume contained sixty-one pieces; two of them show the influence of Ariosto's *Opere Minori,* and two, of his *Orlando.* It is worthy of remark that after this Ronsard, even when writing love-poems, imitates Ariosto's sonnets and elegies much less than his epic; this is probably because the former, being few in number and almost all confined to one theme, were more quickly exhausted as a source of inspiration than the latter, which contained a much greater and more varied amount of material. Du Bellay experiences the same change in attitude towards the work of Ariosto.[254]

One of the cases of *rapprochement* in the *Nouvelle Continuation,* that occurring in the ode " Bel Aubepin fleurissant," was pointed out by M. Laumonier;[255] the rest I have added.

First of the group to be considered is the song " Je veux chanter en ces vers ma tristesse."[256] It is, according to M. Laumonier,[257] a pastiche of details taken from the poems of Petrarch and of Michael Marullus; but its eleventh stanza (" Si le Croissant," etc.) was probably inspired, I think, by the opening lines of Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, which Ronsard had already imitated on a number of occasions.[258]

When, in the sonnet " Mes souspirs mes amis vous m'estes agreables " Ronsard says:

> " Un homme ne pourroit sans se voir amoureux
> " Cognoistre par le mal que valent les liesses,
> (L., I, p. 159)

he was perhaps thinking of the sentiments expressed by Ariosto in the thirty-first canto of his *Orlando* (2, ll. 3-8; 4, ll. 1-4).

[253] Cf. p. 44 of this thesis.
[254] Cf. p. 94, below.
[255] Cf. L. T. M., I, p. 245, note 2.
[256] *Tab. Chron:* " Je ne veus plus que chanter de tristesse."
[257] Cf. *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 492, 493.
[258] See p. 21, above.

To Ariosto's mind, each scornful rebuff and pettish denial that the lover receives only serves to make his final happiness more perfect, just as thirst makes us appreciate water; hunger, food; and war, the tranquil joys of peace.

One of the prettiest of Ronsard's pastoral odes is the "Bel Aubepin fleurissant," [259] inspired by the sight of a hawthorn tree flowering on the bank of a stream. Its last stanza contains a benediction on the tree: may it flourish eternally, says the poet, safe from thunderbolt, ax, or wind storm.

M. Laumonier believes [260] that these good wishes, like those previously addressed by Ronsard to the forest of Gastine [261] and to the Bellerie fountain,[262] were partly inspired by Medoro's benediction of the grotto, *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 108, 109.[263]

In the elegy "Au boeuf, qui tout le jour a trainé la charüe," Ronsard accuses Love of dealing unfairly with him; all creatures, he says, are allowed some period of repose, after their tasks are done; but he has served Love unceasingly for many years, and still sees no signs of relief at hand.[264] He is not, however, seriously discontented with his state; he would not have it thought that he has wearied of the god's service; on the contrary, he had rather die a thousand times than be freed from a master whom he is determined to serve while his hair is still but lightly touched with silver, and when it has whitened to snow ("Non que . . . . Ou soit . . . . "). This seems to be a rearrangement of the closing lines (40-43) of Ariosto's Thirteenth Elegy, "Piaccia a cui piace, e chi lodar vuol lodi," which Ronsard had already imitated in the *Continuation des Amours.*[265]

Poems Written Between 1558-1577. During these years, Ronsard was almost wholly occupied with the production of

[259] *Tab. Chron.:* "Bel Aubespin verdissant." For a discussion of this poem, cf. *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 446.

[260] He notes this in the *Textes Modernes* edition of the works of Ronsard, I, p. 245, note 2. For this edition cf. p. 1, above.

[261] In the *Ode à la forest de Gatine;* cf. p. 13, above.

[262] In the ode "Je veus Muses aus beaus yeus"; cf. p. 35, above.

[263] On which cf. p. 65 of this thesis.

[264] The beginning of this poem is taken, according to M. Laumonier, from Petrarch's *canzone* "Nella stagione." Cf. L, notes, VIII, p. 63.

[265] Cf. p. 42, above.

"official" poetry;[266] this group contains many *hymnes, discours, mascarades, bergeries, tombeaux,* and so on; it includes the poems against the Protestants, the *Franciade* (1572), and the first four *Editions Collectives* (1560; 1567; 1571; 1572-73).

The *Exhortation pour la paix* (1558), the first publication on our list to show the influence of Ariosto's poetry, has been discussed by M. Vianey in his article on "L'Arioste et les discours de Ronsard."[267] Addressed to France and Spain, then at war, the *Exhortation* makes, says M. Vianey, a strong appeal to the Christian sentiments of the combatants: "Ce sont les Turcs, leur dit Ronsard, qu'il vous faut combattre: allez chasser les chiens qui déshonorent le sépulcre du Sauveur. Pourquoi donc êtes-vous baptisés? Pourquoi haïssez-vous les mécréants? Pourquoi les avez-vous laissés s'installer en Asie à votre place, puis prendre pied en Europe? Pourquoi n'exterminez-vous pas cette race infidèle et pourquoi, chrétiens, ne portez-vous pas les étendards du Christ? Si vous luttez pour la gloire, croyez bien qu'il y aura peu d'honneur pour vous à faire mourir cent mille hommes autour d'une petite ville: il y en aurait davantage à chasser les Sarrasins hors de la terre sainte. Si vous cherchez le butin: c'est là-bas que vous recueillerez des lingots, des parfums, des joyaux; là-bas sont les fleuves qui roulent de l'or.

La page est belle; elle est une simple paraphrase d'une page plus belle encore de l'Arioste: *Furieux,* chant XVII, strophes 75-79."[268]

I have quoted M. Vianey's synopsis because the passage itself (*Exhortation,* ll. 1-80[269]) is too long to be given here. The stanzas in the *Orlando* to which he refers were inspired by the deplorable condition of Italy at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the country was racked by constant warfare between her petty princes, and overrun by the soldiers of Spain, France, and Switzerland, and by German mercenaries. It is to these countries, and to Italy herself, that Ariosto addresses his arguments.

It should be added that the epithet "chiens," which Ronsard applies to the Turks,[270] comes from stanza 73, ll. 5-8.

[266] Cf. on this point p. 44, above.
[267] *Revue Universitaire,* 1903, pp. 473-475.
[268] *Op. cit.,* p. 473.
[269] L., V, pp. 192-194.
[270] *Exhortation,* l. 37.

Moreover, it should be noted that four lines in the passage in the *Exhortation* (ll. 23-26), are obviously inspired by *Orlando Furioso,* IX, 90, 91 (the story of how Orlando threw the cannon into the sea), which Ronsard had already imitated in a *discours, Les Armes.*[271]

In 1559 he published another *hymne* in praise of the Cardinal de Lorraine.[272] Whereas he had formerly praised the Cardinal for his justice and fair-mindedness, he now, in the *Hymne de Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine,* praises his talent as a statesman; and he compares the eloquent flow of language with which Charles presented a message from the King of France to the Pope, to a mountain torrent in the Pyrenees or in Auvergne, fed by the melting snows of spring, and foaming up majestically over its banks ("Qui a . . . . Les bouillons . . . . "). This was probably inspired by a recollection of Ariosto's river similes, especially those of *Elegy* 5, ll. 7-12, and of *Orlando Furioso,* XXXVII, 110.[273]

The war between France and Spain, which had drawn from Ronsard the *Exhortation pour la paix,*[274] was ended by a treaty in 1559; he composed a new poem, *La Paix, au Roy Henry II,* in honor of the occasion, and published it in a *plaquette* with two other pieces. In *La Paix,* as in the *Exhortation,* Ronsard brings up various arguments to prove that peace is not only a happier, but a more really glorious and honorable state than war among Christian nations; and certain of the verses in which he addresses Henri directly ("Quel honneur . . . . Un peuple . . . . ") show a strong similarity with the long passage in the *Exhortation pour la paix,* of which I have already spoken;[275] they were probably inspired by the same source: Ariosto's remonstrances to the nations oppressing Italy, *Orlando Furioso,* XVII, 75-79.[276]

Another *plaquette,* published in the same year, contained a *Discours à Mgr le duc de Savoie,* and a *Chant pastoral à Mad.*

[271] Cf. p. 40, above.
[272] For the first, see p. 45, above.
[273] See p. 12 of this thesis.
[274] Cf. *supra.*
[275] The passage in *La Paix* is much more compact.
[276] Cf. p. 50.

Marguerite Duchesse de Savoie, " plus XXIV Inscriptions en faveur de quelques grands seigneurs." Both the *Discours* and the *Chant pastoral* were composed in honor of the marriage of Marguerite[277] and the Duke; and both contain similes taken from the *Orlando Furioso.*

In the *Discours,* Ronsard describes, with conventional exaggeration, the impression which a first sight of the Duke produced upon his future wife; cold indifference vanished from her heart, like ice dissolved by the mild air of spring, and was replaced by a tender warmth (" Comme on voit . . . . Et . . . . ").

When Bradamante, the heroine of the *Orlando,* believes her lover Ruggiero to be paying court to another woman, she heaps reproaches upon him, attempts to strike him with her lance, and then, finding her will-power unequal to the trial, rides away in despair. Ruggiero pursues her, begging to know his fault; and at his first affectionate words, all her anger is replaced by love; Ariosto uses the simile which Ronsard has imitated to portray her change of heart (*O. F.,* XXXVI, 40).[278] On the other hand, in the *Chant pastoral* we are told how the Duke fell in love with the Princess as soon as he saw her;

> Si tost qu'il veit ceste belle Dryade,
> Blessé d'amour il en devint malade:
> Et comme un feu qui aux espics se prend,
> Et de petit apres se fait plus grand,
> Puis tout à coup trouvant matiere preste
> Vient aux forests, et enflame leur teste:
> Ainsi l'amour tellement l'embrasa.
> (L., III, p. 422)

This calls to mind the situation of Bireno, one of the characters in the *Orlando,*[279] who saw the daughter of the king of

[277] Sister to Henri II of France; her marriage to the Duke took place in 1559.

[278] Compare also Petrarch, *Canzoniere,* " In quella parte," ll. 43-45; Ovid, *Met.,* IX, 660-662; Dante, *Purg.,* XXX, 85-90.

[279] For his story, cf. *O. F.,* IX, X, XI.

Frisa (Friesland) and was immediately inflamed with love for her:

> Non pur di lei Bireno s'inamora,
> Ma fuoco mai così non accese esca,
> Nè se lo pongan l'invide e nimiche
> Mani talor ne le mature spiche;
>
> Come egli se n'accese immantinente,
> Come egli n'arse fin ne le medolle.
> (X, 11, ll. 5-8; 12, ll. 1, 2)[280]

Some time in the latter part[281] of 1559 Ronsard published a *Suyte de l'Hymne de tres illustre prince Charles, Cardinal de Lorraine,* to serve as a pendant to the one which he had already written in praise of this person earlier in the same year.[282] As before, Ronsard touches on the Cardinal's qualities as a statesman;[283] he likens him to an experienced pilot, guiding the ship of state through troubled waters ("Ainsi qu'on voit . . . . Le gouvernal . . . . "). M. Laumonier gives[284] as the source of this passage a poem addressed by Marullus to the Emperor Maximilian: *Epigrammata,* III, 3, " Qualiter in medio tuta rate navita portu," etc. It is true that Marullus compares the ruler to a careful pilot, but here the similarity ends; for the details in which he envelops his conception Ronsard is, in my opinion, indebted to a passage in the *Orlando Furioso,* XVIII, 142-144, which is a description of a real, and not a metaphorical, storm at sea. The passage in the *Suyte de l'Hymne* was perhaps also influenced, as was its model in Canto XVIII of the *Orlando,*[285] by Virgil, *Aeneid,* I, 81, etc., and by Ovid, *Met.,* XI; cf. also

[280] M. Laumonier gives as the source of the lines in the *Chant pastoral* a passage in J. Lemaire's *Illustrations de Gaule:* I, ch. XXV, end, " Car ainsi comme il advient," etc. (See L., notes, VII, p. 392); but they seem to me to be closer to the verses in the *Orlando.* The original source of the simile is, I take it, Virgil, *Aeneid,* II, ll. 304, 305.

[281] Cf. *Tab. Chron.,* p. 29. With this poem was published a sonnet to Queen Catherine.

[282] See p. 51, above.

[283] The Cardinal had played a prominent part in the debate on the treaty with Spain, signed at Cateau-Cambrésis, April 3, 1559. Cf. L., notes, VIII, p. 68.

[284] Cf. L., notes; VII, p. 222 and VIII, p. 69.

[285] Cf. Rajna, *Le Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso,* pp. 291, 292.

Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.*, II, 70-75, and V. Flaccus, *Argon.*, IV, 268-271.

The most pretentious work, in point of size, published by Ronsard in 1559 was the *Second livre des Meslanges.* It contained 61 pieces. M. Laumonier has remarked that Alcina and Astolfo [286] are mentioned in one of them, a *Discours contre Fortune;* [287] I have found material taken from the *Orlando* in this poem and in another, and imitation of one of Ariosto's sonnets in a third.

The last-mentioned poem, an *Eclogue* dedicated to Jehan du Thier,[288] is a dialogue between three shepherds, Perrot (Ronsard), Bellot (Du Bellay), and Bellin (Belleau).[289] Perrot and Bellot sing of their loves; Bellin is to decide which is the better singer. Perrot says of the fire that consumes his heart, that athough he should drink the sea dry, his flames would not be extinguished; they are too strong ("La nuict . . . . Plus je . . . . ").

Ariosto had said of his love (Sonnet 5, ll. 13, 14) that "Nè fiume Nè tutto il mar potrà smorzer quel fôco." It will be remembered that Ronsard had already imitated Sonnet 5 in the *Amours* of 1552.[290]

The other two poems in this collection which are affected by the work of Ariosto are both addressed to Odet de Colligny, Cardinal de Chastillon, whose favor Ronsard was at this time assiduously courting. The first, a *Discours à Odet de Colligny,* begins with the following argument: [291] He who is seated high upon Dame Fortune's wheel, and on whom she has bestowed riches, honors, and power, can never tell by whom he is truly loved, and by whom flattered in the hope of gain; but if the wheel should turn, and he be hurled to poverty and subjection, the flatterers would shrink away from him, and only his real friends would remain.

[286] Characters in the *Orlando:* see p. 111 of this thesis.

[287] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 485.

[288] He was *conseiller du roi,* and *secrétaire d'Etat.* Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 393.

[289] These names are interpreted by M. Laumonier: cf. L., notes, VII, p. 393.

[290] See p. 27, above.

[291] Ll. 1-40; L., V, pp. 179, 180.

M. Laumonier believes [292] that these ideas were suggested by some lines in Ovid's *Tristia,* I, ix, ll. 5, 6; but the real source of the passage in the *Discours* is to be found in the *Orlando Furioso,* XIX, 1, and 2, ll. 1-6, which it follows very closely in theme and movement.

The symbol of the wheel of Fortune was a great favorite with Ariosto; compare *Orlando Furioso,* XLV, 1-4, and his Sixth Satire, " Pistofilo, tu scrivi che se appresso."

But to return to the *Discours:* Ronsard speaks next of the instability of all human affairs, and applies to them two similes borrowed from the *Orlando:* this restless life, he says, is like a field of grain, bowed this way and that by the winds of May; or like the whirlwind from a thunder-cloud, which first raises great masses of dust on land, and then, sweeping over the sea, raises huge waves (" Comme on voit . . . . S'esbranle . . . . "). The first simile is perfectly familiar, as Ronsard has used it several times before; [293] it comes from *Orlando Furioso,* XVI, 68, ll. 3-6 (a description of the wavering movements of two armies engaged in battle).[294]

The other is from the *Orlando,* XLV, 72, ll. 1-4. Bradamante, in order to keep faith with her beloved Ruggiero, has sworn to marry no man unless he can defeat her in single combat; a champion presents himself for the trial, and she, not knowing that it is Ruggiero in disguise, unsheathes her sword and advances furiously upon him:

> Qual talor, dopo il tuono, orrido vento
> Subito segue, che sozzopra volve
> L'ondoso mare, e leva in un momento
> Da terra fin al ciel l'oscura polve.

Ronsard has considerably expanded this passage; he has also added, in the two lines beginning " Les flots . . . . Maintenant . . . . ," a detail taken from Virgil's *Aeneid,* I, ll. 102-107.

As a personal document the *Discours contre Fortune* is quite interesting, because in it Ronsard expresses with obvious sincerity his disgust with the servile and favor-seeking manner which he has for some time assumed. It was not always so, he says; at first, he had been contented to serve the Muses without

[292] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 493.
[293] See p. 19, above.
[294] Cf. on this simile p. 13, above.

hope of reward; then the kind favors of the Cardinal de Chastillon [295] awakened his ambition, and in less than a year he was as completely transformed as though, like the Englishman, he had embraced Alcina ("Et bref . . . . Qui transforma . . . . "). This refers, as M. Laumonier has pointed out,[296] to the beautiful but wicked enchantress of the *Orlando,* who when she tired of her lover, the English knight Astolfo, turned him into a myrtle-tree, so that he could tell no one of her fickleness. The story is told in the sixth canto of the epic.[297]

Ronsard continues to reproach himself bitterly for his senseless desires, which have brought him nothing but disappointments and humiliations; he likens himself to a greedy fly, a leech; then, feeling perhaps that he has gone too far, he suddenly changes his strain, begs Coligny's pardon, and avows that sickness or rage may often make a man say things that he would normally wish to leave unspoken ("Pardonnez moy . . . . Si mon . . . . "). In the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth cantos of the *Orlando* Ariosto says some very hard things about women, illustrating his remarks with a most scandalous story designed to prove the heartless depravity of the entire female sex. He soon repents, however, of this evil frame of mind, and begins Canto XXX with a fitting apology (stanzas 1-3) of which the passage in the *Discours* is an imitation.

In 1560 appeared the *Première Edition Collective des Œuvres de P. de Ronsard,* in four volumes. It contains few new pieces; and of those few, only two show imitation of the poetry of Ariosto. The last three lines of the *Elégie à de la Haye* are taken from *O. F.,* XXVII, 121 (Cf. L. T. M., V, 173); while in an allegorical poem,[298] which is dedicated to the Bishop of Toulon and in which the poet dreams that he is carried through the air to the abode of the Goddess Virtue, the description of her temple of polished bronze, set on a rock so high that no one could reach it without wings, is evidently inspired by Ariosto's picture of the magic castle of Atlante, given in the second Canto of the *Orlando,* stanzas 41, ll. 5-8; 42; 43, ll. 1, 2; 44, ll. 7, 8.

[295] Odet de Colligny, to whom the poem is addressed.

[296] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 485.

[297] Cf. also p. 111 of this essay.

[298] Title, 1560: *La Vertu amoureuse;* 1578; *Discours.* Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 385.

During 1561 and 1562 Ronsard published only *plaquettes.*[299] Two of the poems published singly in this manner show *rapprochement* with the *Orlando.* Each appeared in 1562; the first is a *Discours des Miseres de ce Temps, à la Royne Mere du Roy,* in which, among other disasters, Ronsard speaks of the Seine's having flooded its banks:

> Seine qui couroit d'une vague effrenée,
> Et bestail et pasteurs et maisons ravissoit.
> (L., V, p. 332)

Although inspired by an actual happening, the last line probably owes something to one of Ariosto's river similes,[300] that of *Orlando Furioso,* XL, 31, ll. 5, 6.

But it was not with the vagaries of Nature that Ronsard was chiefly concerned. France had become the battle-ground of the Catholic and Protestant forces; the armed troops of the Guise, Condé and Coligny families had put Paris practically in a state of siege; and the Regent, Queen Catherine, unable to decide whether to cast in her lot with the Lutheran princes of Germany, and sustain a war with Spain and Savoy, or to swallow her aversion for the hated Guise and remain true to the Church of Rome, held conferences with the leaders of both parties, played for time, and made no definite move in either direction.[301]

Ronsard, who was strongly pro-Catholic, was very anxious that she should incline to his side of the question; in the *Discours des Miseres,* he endeavored to represent to her by an allegory all the evils of the Reformed religion.[302] According to this allegory, which M. Vianey has discussed at some length in his article on "L'Arioste et les discours de Ronsard," [303] the leaders of the Protestant faith are all children of *Opinion,* a monster born to Jupiter and *Dame Presomption.* For his description of this creature, M. Vianey believes that the poet is indebted to two passages in the *Orlando:* the allegory of Fraud and Silence, XIV, 74-96, and the allegory of the Beast of Avarice, or

[299] See p. 49, above.

[300] For which see p. 12 of this thesis.

[301] Cf. L., notes, VII, pp. 524-528.

[302] M. Laumonier remarks that since Catherine at this time seemed rather to favor the Protestants, Ronsard showed real courage in addressing her in this manner. Cf. L., notes, VII, pp. 525-526.

[303] *Revue Universitaire,* 1903, pp. 473-475.

Heresy,[304] XXVI, 30-53. From the latter, according to M. Vianey, Ronsard took the idea of personifying *Opinion* as a monster; and the movement of the passage in which he describes her ("Ce monstre que j'ay dit . . . .") is similar to that of the stanzas in which Ariosto describes the Beast; moreover, the lines in which Ronsard speaks of *Opinion* as having a cruel, brutal look ("Elle fut si . . . . Elle avoit . . . .") resemble Ariosto's comment on the appearance of the Beast, XXVI, 31, ll. 1, 2.

On the other hand, her smooth, hypocritical visage and soft speech ("Son cœur . . . . D'une parole . . . .") are like those of Fraud (XIV, 87); and her quiet tread ("Ses jambes . . . . Afin . . . .") resembles that of Silence (XIV, 94, l. 6).

In another of his poems against the Protestants, the *Remonstrance au peuple de France,* also published in 1562, Ronsard continues the allegory of *Opinion* and her offspring. He makes her counsel her son Luther to various abominations: aided by the goddess, Luther is to assume authority over all the nations of the Earth, to subdue their kings and princes, and even to attempt the overthrow of the Pope.[305] M. Vianey remarks, in the article to which I have just been referring: "In the discourse which *Opinion* holds to Luther, there are certainly reminiscences of the twenty-sixth Canto of the Orlando: the goddess advises Luther to do what was done by the Beast. See especially stanza 32." [306]

Naturally Ronsard's continued slurs drew retorts from Protestant writers; [307] and these in turn provoked from him a counter-attack in the shape of a *plaquette* containing a mixture of verse and prose: *Responce aux injures et calomnies de je ne sçay*

[304] The question of which of these interpretations is the correct one has never been settled; Rajna avoids it (cf. *Le Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso,* Ch. XII); and Hauvette believes that the Beast represents "toutes les tares qui déshonoraient les cours princières de la Chrétienté" (*L'Arioste et la poésie chevalresque à Ferrare,* p. 235).

[305] Ll. 257-301: "Mon fils, il ne faut . . . . Crier contre l'Eglise."

[306] *Op. cit.,* p. 475.

[307] M. Laumonier remarks that information on this point can be found in the works of Lenient, *La Satire en France au 16e siecle,* Paris, Hachette, 1866; F. Brunetière, *Hist. de la litt. fr. class.,* Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 353-372; and P. Perdrizet, *Ronsard et la Réforme,* Paris, Fischbacher, 1902. Cf. L., notes, VII, pp. 524, 525.

quels predicans et ministres de Geneve sur son Discours et Continuation des miseres de ce temps[308] (1563). The *Responce* mentioned in the title is a *discours* of 1164 verses; in it all his Protestant critics are represented by a "Predicant,"[309] whom the poet describes as a foul monster, spitting forth flame and venom; says Ronsard:

> Je pense à voir son front qu'il n'a point de cervelle,
> Je m'en vais luy sonder le nez d'une esprouvelle:
> Certes il n'en a point, le fer est bien avant,
> . . . . Il faut . . . . que le Greffier, comme un
> Astolphe, en bref
> Luy souffle d'un cornet le sens dedans le chef.
> (L., V, p. 403)

M. Laumonier, in a note to the L. edition,[310] remarks that the "Greffier" was one of the Court fools, and that when Ronsard mentioned Astolfo he was referring to an episode related in the *Orlando Furioso,* XXXVIII, 23, 24, and XXXIX, 55-57:[311] Orlando is cured of his madness by his cousin, the English knight Astolfo, who journeys to the Moon, finds there a vial containing the Paladin's wits, and, returning to Earth, makes the patient breathe them in through his nose. Ronsard had already touched on this story in one of the sonnets in the *Première Edition Collective,* 1560 (*Amours de Cassandre,* "Du tout changé ma Circe enchanteresse"); on this point see page 23, above.

After venting his anger in abuse of the hated "Predicant," Ronsard assumes a somewhat gentler tone and begins to deplore the evil state into which his unhappy country has fallen. Were it not, he says, for the wise guidance of Queen Catherine and Prince Charles, France would be utterly destroyed; but now, fortunately, the peace which the Queen has succeeded in making[312] has restored the land to health and vigor, as a flower, drooping from the heat, is revived by a gentle rain ("Mais la paix . . . . Les fievres . . . . ").

This simile is imitated, I believe, from a passage in the thirty-second canto of the *Orlando.* Bradamante, the girl knight,

[308] See p. 57, above.
[309] So spelled in L.
[310] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 553.
[311] Cf. also XXXIV, 82-87.
[312] The Peace of Amboise, March 12, 1563; cf. L., notes, VII, p. 555.

arrives one stormy evening at the gate of a castle, and asks for shelter. She is told that according to the custom of the place, only one woman may be lodged within its walls at a time; if two or more women should desire to be admitted, the fairest may stay, but the others must depart, whatever the weather. Another lady is already enjoying the hospitality of the castle; she is called out, and, much to her discomfiture, adjudged less beautiful than Bradamante. The latter, however, generously insists that she be permitted to remain, whereupon her fears are banished, and her drooping spirits revived,

> Qual sotto il più cocente ardore estivo,
> Quando di ber più desïosa è l'erba,
> Il fior ch'era vicino a restar privo
> Di tutto quell' umor ch'in vita il serba,
> Sente l'amata pioggia, e si fa vivo.
> (XXXII, 108, ll. 1-5)

After the treaty of Amboise had caused a temporary lull, Ronsard apparently felt that the time was ripe to remind Queen Catherine of his own necessities. He chose to do so by means of an allegorical poem, a *genre* of which he was certainly fond at this time: *La Promesse* [313] (1563). Early one morning, he said, he had had a dream [314] in which Promise had appeared to him as a beautiful woman. Her speech was honeyed and her manner most winning:

> Et soit qu'elle marchast, soit qu'on approchast d'elle,
> Soit riant, soit parlant, soit en mouvant le pas,
> Devisant, discourant, elle avoit des apas,
> Des rets, des hameçons, et de la glus pour prendre
> Les credules esprits.
> (L., IV, p. 117)

Ronsard has used these terms before; [315] they are taken from Ariosto's description of the cruel but charming Alcina, *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 16, ll. 1, 2.

In her hands Promise holds the things for which deluded courtiers strive: bags of wind and smoke, and bottles full of vain words, honors, and favors, which, when touched, proved to be

[313] In 1571 this piece was placed by Ronsard among his *Elegies,* with the title *Elegie XXI;* cf. L., notes, VII, p. 418.

[314] Compare with this *La Vertu amoureuse,* written shortly before (see p. 56 of this thesis).

[315] See p. 26, above.

without substance (" Elle avoit . . . . En lieu . . . . "). This satire was probably suggested by the things which Astolfo saw in the valley of the Moon, *Orlando Furioso,* XXXIV. While seeking in the other sphere the lost wits of his cousin Orlando,[316] Astolfo notices lying upon the ground many strange objects, each of which is symbolic of something lost or wasted on Earth; thus,

> I mantici ch'intorno han pieni i greppi,
> Sono i fumi dei Principi e i favori
> Che danno un tempo ai Ganimedi suoi,
> Che se ne van col fior degli anni poi.
>
> Poi vide bocce rotte di più sorti,
> Ch'era il servir de le misere corti.
> (XXXIV, 78, ll. 5-8; 79, ll. 7, 8)

In the same year (1563) Ronsard brought out a volume of considerable bulk, entitled *Trois livres du Recueil des Nouvelles Poësies.* Only one of the pieces in this collection had ever been published before;[317] the rest show considerable imitation of the work of Ariosto, chiefly, of course, of his *Orlando.* M. Laumonier has pointed out[318] a case of *rapprochement* in a poem addressed to Catherine de' Medici, " Royne, qui de vertus passes Artemisie," and M. Vianey has found[319] another in one of the " Hymnes des Quatre Saisons," *L'Hyver.* I have discovered similar cases in ten more poems. Imitation of the laments of Bradamante[320] occurs three times; and of the scene in which Orlando goes mad,[321] twice.

In the poem to Catherine de' Medici, mentioned above, the poet sings the praises not only of the queen, but of her deceased husband, Henri II, and of his sister Marguerite. Speaking of the latter, he says, that after Nature had framed the princess, she broke the mould, in order that Marguerite might remain unique, a marvel among women (" Fleur . . . . Tu fusses . . . . "). M. Laumonier remarks that the fantasy is taken

[316] See p. 59, above.

[317] The *Elegie sur le despart de la Royne Marie,* first published in 1561.

[318] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 198.

[319] In " L'Arioste et les discours de Ronsard," *Revue Universitaire,* XII (1903), 473-475.

[320] See p. xvi, above.

[321] See p. 35, above.

from *Orlando Furioso,* X, 84, ll. 4-6 (description of Zerbino), and that Ronsard uses it on a number of occasions.[322]

After having accorded to each of the three royal personages a liberal share of flattery, Ronsard begins again the old theme, on which, during these years, he was constantly harping: his poverty, and the fact that his art had never been adequately rewarded by those whom it glorified. On this subject he becomes violently sarcastic: poets, says he, are madmen who have only themselves to blame for their miserable state; if they find it impossible to gain a livelihood by following the Muses, why do they not quit such a wretched *métier* and take up some more profitable trade? He likens himself to a dog, that vents its rage by biting the stone which some passer-by has hurled at it ("Tu resembles . . . . Et non . . . . "). In addition to the case of *rapprochement* noted by M. Laumonier (see above), I find that the simile just mentioned comes also from the *Orlando,* XXXVII, 78, ll. 3-6, which tells how the tyrant Marganorre, coming upon the dead body of the woman who had poisoned his son, hacked and mutilated it, endeavoring thus to satisfy his desire for revenge.

Next on the list is an *Eclogue,* "Deux freres Pastoureaux, qui avoient pris naissance." The two brothers[323] engage in the usual pastoral singing contest, in imitation of the rustics of Virgil and of Theocritus; one says, that whenever his lady-love appears in the fields, there spring up flowers and leafy plants; but as soon as she withdraws, all this verdure disappears. The other responds that when *his* mistress comes, she brings spring with her, and when she goes away, spring is done ("Si tost . . . . Pour s'enfuir . . . . "). M. Laumonier gives as the source[324] of these stanzas Virgil's Seventh Eclogue, ll. 53-60; it should be remarked, however, that Virgil's shepherds in each case describe the beloved as she who allays the droughts of late summer, and not as a bringer of spring. This detail Ronsard probably took from the most famous of the laments of Bradamante,[325] *Orlando*

[322] See pp. 70, 85, 87, 90.

[323] In 1563 they are called Daphnis and Thyrsis, in 1567 Carlin and Xandrin; they represent Charles IX and his brother Edouard-Alexandre, who reigned as Henri III. Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 393.

[324] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 394.

[325] On which see p. xvi, above.

Furioso, XLV, 38, and 39, ll. 1-4, which Ronsard had imitated several times before.

Another stanza of the same lament inspired some lines in the *Elégie* " Hier quand bouche à bouche assis aupres de vous," [326] a love-poem to an unknown lady,[327] in which the poet compares himself, when absent from his mistress, to a miser anxious about his hidden gold (" Je resemble . . . . Vivre . . . . "). This was what Bradamante had said of herself and her anxiety in regard to the absent Ruggiero (*O. F.,* XLV, 34).

About a year before the publication of the *Trois livres du Recueil,* Ronsard appears to have had a curious sort of love-affair with a young *bourgeoise* whom he calls Genévre.[328] Several poems in the collection are addressed to her; in one of them, a *Discours en forme d'elégie* beginning " Genévre, je te prie, escoute ce discours," [329] he relates how the *amourette* began. Swimming one summer evening in the Seine, the poet saw on the river-bank a crowd of young people who were amusing themselves by dancing. The grace and beauty of one dancer particularly caught his attention; next day a happy chance revealed to him her name and dwelling-place; he spoke with his new goddess, and lost no time in revealing to her the state of his affections. To his astonishment and chagrin, Genévre responded only by a deep sigh, and the remark that all her desires were buried in the tomb of another man. Ronsard left, much discouraged; but love soon drove him back; and one day, after their acquaintance had ripened, she told him her story.

She had formerly loved, she said, a gentleman endowed with every grace and virtue, who cherished her even as much as she did him. For five years they had lived together in perfect happiness; then the lover was attacked by a dangerous malady; he grew weaker and weaker, and finally died in her arms, responding lovingly, even with his last breath, to her heart-broken lamentations and expressions of endearment.

[326] *Tab. chron.:* " L'autre jour que j'estois assis aupres de vous."

[327] Whom M. Laumonier believes to have been Isabeau de la Tour, damoiselle de Limeuil; cf. L., notes, VII, p. 404.

[328] The identity of this person is unknown, but M. Laumonier remarks: " Il est certain que Ronsard l'a aimée ardemment durant une année (juillet 1561 à juillet 1562)." See L., notes, VII, p. 405.

[329] *Tab. chron.:* " Genévre, je te prie escoute par pitié."

I shall not attempt to quote here the last interview between Genévre and her lover, which covers something over four pages in the close text of the L. edition;[330] suffice it to say that the entire scene (ll. 243-382, "Or le jour qu'Atropos . . . . Souspirant aigrement . . . . ") is taken over from Ariosto's description of the death of Zerbino, *Orlando Furioso,* XXIV, 77-86.[331] The two passages are identical in movement; and although Ronsard here and there pads his verses with material taken from other sources, he follows his chief model literally phrase for phrase.

After the body of her lover had been placed in its coffin, said Genévre, she came once more to look upon his face; and standing by the bier, she spoke to him for the last time, in a passionate discourse ("O, disois-je . . . . Et vous . . . . ") which is an imitation of another portion of Ariosto's epic, the farewell of Orlando to his friend Brandimarte, who was killed by the Moors (*O. F.,* XLIII, 170-172). It is interesting to notice that even where Ronsard's verses differ from those of Ariosto in subject-matter, they remain similar to them in movement.

Ronsard was probably led to imitate these stanzas by the following circumstances: in the *Orlando,* they are almost immediately preceded by the lament of Brandimarte's lady,[332] the fair Fiordiligi, whose grief at the sight of her dead lord reminds us of the despair of Issabella after the death of Zerbino—there was evidently, in Ronsard's mind, a connection between the two episodes. But the lament of Fiordiligi was by reason of its content unsuitable for imitation in the *Discours;* on the other hand, Orlando's words to Brandimarte, which, as I have said, followed it, could very easily be adapted to suit Ronsard's purpose. It is hardly necessary to add that while the two heroines of the *Orlando* remained true to their loves until death, Genévre soon allowed herself to be consoled by the delicate attentions of the poet.

Another poem in this collection which contains considerable material taken from the *Orlando* is the elegy *Adonis,* beginning

[330] L., IV, p. 19 (middle) to p. 23 (middle).

[331] Ronsard had already imitated part of this passage before; cf. p. 36, above.

[332] Cf. *O. F.,* XLIII, 157-164.

" Fictes,[333] qui n'es point feint aux enfans de la Muse." It tells, of course, of the infatuation of Venus for the beautiful shepherd; and Ronsard describes, with that minuteness of detail which the taste of his period demanded, the actions and sentiments of the enamoured goddess, who, forgetting herself and her estate, thinks of nothing but her lover; never quits him for an hour, spending the mornings with him in a rustic hut, the noon hours in a grotto, and the evening hours under the trees, on the mossy bank of a brook (" Elle ne pense . . . . La mere . . . . "). Similarly in the *Orlando Furioso* we are told how Angelica, King Galafron's beautiful daughter, who has received with disdain the addresses of Orlando, of Rinaldo, and of a score of other famous and noble persons, falls violently in love with a young squire, handsome, but of humble birth, whom she finds lying wounded in a wood.[334] She has him carried to the nearest dwelling—a shepherd's hut; there she nurses him back to health, and there leads with him a truly idyllic life (*O. F.*, XIX, 28; 34, ll. 5-8; 35).

Obviously, these stanzas are the source of the passage from the *Adonis* quoted above.

It will be remembered that Orlando, coming by chance to the shepherd's hut after Angelica and Medoro have left it, discovers that all his hopes of happiness have been destroyed by a rival who is not even of noble birth.[335] Bitterly chagrined and furiously jealous, he passes a most wretched night:

> Poi ch'allargare il freno al dolor puote
> (Che resta solo, e senza altrui rispetto),
> Giù dagli occhi rigando per le gote
> Sparge un fiume di lacrime sul petto:
> Sospira e geme, e va con spesse ruote
> Di qua di là tutto cercando il letto;
> E più duro ch'un sasso, e più pungente
> Che se fosse d'urtica, se lo sente.
> (XXIII, 122)

Finally, unable to bear it any longer, he springs up, arms himself, and rides to the near-by forest, where he wanders about until he goes mad.

[333] De Fictes, to whom the poem was dedicated, was a *trésorier de l'Epargne;* cf. L., notes, VII, p. 405.

[334] *O. F.*, XIX, 17, etc.

[335] Cf. *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 100-121; and see p. 35 of this thesis.

For Orlando, Ronsard in his poem substitutes the god Mars, who feels no less rage at being supplanted by a mere mortal than the Paladin had felt when he saw himself rejected for the squire:

> Il estoit nuict fermée, et les hommes lassez
> Dessus la plume oisive avoyent les yeux pressez,
> . . . . Un seul Mars veille au Ciel, qui plein de frenaisie,
> De rage, de fureur, d'ire, et de jalousie,
> Ny d'yeux ny d'estomac nè reçoit le sommeil,
> Mais veille dans le lict, sans raison ny conseil:
> Tantost sur un costé, et tantost il se vire
> Sur l'autre, coup sus coup: il lamente, il souspire:
> Nomme Venus ingrate, et bruslant de despit
> Armé de teste en pied s'eslance de son lit.
> (L., IV, p. 30)

Mars, however, by no means loses his wits. On the contrary: he goes to his sister Diana and asks her to bring it about that Adonis, who is fond of hunting, shall be killed by a wild boar. She promises to do so; next day Adonis goes hunting, and is mortally wounded. His mistress, who has been, as usual, near at hand, clasps him in her arms, bids him farewell—a somewhat lengthy farewell, it must be confessed [336]—and gives him a last kiss, breathing in the sighs of his departing soul. He falls back in her embrace, and his life goes out like the flame of a candle when its wax is exhausted ("Ainsi disoit . . . . Ainsi . . . . "). These details are, of course, taken from Ariosto's description of the death of Zerbino, *Orlando Furioso,* XXIV, 77-86, which I have spoken of in connection with the *discours* to Genévre.[337] Compare especially stanzas 82, ll. 5-8; 85 and 86.

When he wrote the *Second Discours de Genévre en forme d'Elegie,* Ronsard was enduring an enforced absence from the admired one; and he begins by declaring that without her he does not live; he merely exists in torment, like a poor sick man, wasted by a fever, who turns this way and that in his bed and can never find rest ("Ce me . . . . Des differens . . . . ").

Ariosto had used this simile to describe the jealous torments of Rodomonte, King of Sarza, whose intended bride had jilted him and given her hand to a rival [338] (*Orlando Furioso,* XXVIII, 90).

[336] It covers slightly over four pages in the L. edition. Cf. *op. cit.,* IV, pp. 32-36.

[337] See p. 64, above.

[338] For this story cf. p. 47, above.

If the days are burdensome to Ronsard, the nights are almost worse:

> Puis quand je suis couché, Amour qui me travaille,
> Armé de mes pensers me donne la bataille:
> Le lict m'est un enfer, et pense que dedans
> On ait semé du verre ou des chardons mordans:
> Maintenant d'un costé, maintenant je me tourne
> Desur l'autre en pleurant, et point je ne sejourne.
> (L., IV, p. 39)

The passage is imitated, I think, from *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 122, which I have just discussed in connection with Ronsard's *Adonis.*[339]

Although the elegy "Madame oyez le mal que je reçoy" is obviously composed of elements taken from Petrarch's *Canzoniere,* its concluding lines—"Rien ne sçauroit de vostre part venir Qui ne m'apporte une joye parfaite, Si par mon mal je vous voy satisfaite"[340]—may have been inspired by the first quatrain of Ariosto's Eighth Sonnet, which Ronsard had imitated in his *Amours* of 1552 (cf. p. 22, above).

In another elegy addressed to the same lady,[341] "Oyant un jour redoubler mes souspirs,"[342] Ronsard declares that on their first meeting her beauty had inspired him with a passion which he had realized it was useless to combat; he had therefore "abandoned the bridle to destiny"—or, in other words, let himself love her—for, he says, the man who has not spirit enough to render Beauty its due homage is as miserable as the wretch who avoids the light of the Sun ("Je me resouls . . . . D'un beau . . . . "). The idea, and the metaphorical language in which it is clothed, are imitated from Bradamante's lament of Canto XXXII, stanzas 22 and 23, in which that heroine, believing that Ruggiero is untrue to her, bewails the trustful readiness with which she had given him her love.

[339] M. Laumonier gives as the source of this passage an épitre by Arnaut de Maroill, "Domna, genser que no sai dir," ll. 28-44, "Mas la noit . . . . tot aisso fas . . . . " (cf. L., notes, VII, p. 405), but the lines in the *Orlando* seem to me to be its real source.

[340] L., IV, p. 51.

[341] According to M. Laumonier, this elegy, and the one I have just been discussing, were both addressed to Isabeau de Limeuil. Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 406 and 416.

[342] Title in L.: *Elegie XVII.*

M. Vianey describes the *Hymnes des Quatre Saisons* as "une tentative curieuse d'épopée burlesque."[343] They are, in fact, an unsuccessful attempt at imitation of the Greek nature-myths; thus, in *L'Esté,* the second of the group,[344] Ronsard tells us how the goddess Nature, quitting in disgust her feeble, aged husband, Time, went to the Sun-god and boldly offered him her love. Apollo heard her with joy, for his heart was stirred by her beauty:

> Encore qu'elle fust un peu vielle à la voir,
> Si est-ce que sa grace avoit peu l'esmouvoir,
> Et luy avoit jetté le soulfre dans les veines,
> Qui ja de son amour s'allumoyent toutes pleines,
> Fumantes du desir hautain et genereux
> De venir promptement au combat amoureux.
> (L., IV, p. 306)

Ariosto describes similarly the emotion with which Ruggiero welcomed the coming of his beautiful mistress, Alcina[345] (*Orlando Furioso,* VII, 27, ll. 1-4; 7).

Of the union of Nature and the Sun-god there were born, says Ronsard, the four Seasons. One of these, *l'Autonne,* is raised in ignorance of her parents; when she has grown to womanhood, however, her nurse tells her from whom she is descended, and bids her make herself known to the various members of her family. She visits the palace of her brother *Printemps,* of whose flowery domain Ronsard gives a description (*Hynne de l'Autonne,* "Ce Palais . . . . Tristesse . . . . ") probably inspired by certain details of Ariosto's picture of the delightful island kingdom of Alcina, *O. F.,* VI, 20, ll. 7, 8; 21; 22, ll. 1-3; 72, l. 8; 73, and 74, ll. 1, 2.

The *Hynne de l'Hyver* treats the familiar theme of the attempted dethronement of Jupiter and the Olympian gods by a group of lesser deities. In this case, the insurgents are led by *Hyver,* who wishes to regain his place in Heaven, from which, as an infant, he had been cast out; their attack is a vigorous one; so that Jupiter, finding himself hard pressed, sends Night with a message to Sleep, asking his help in subduing the rebels. Sleep,

[343] Cf. his article on "L'Arioste et les discours de Ronsard," *Revue Universitaire,* XII (1903), 475.

[344] It comprises four pieces, *Hynne du Printemps, L'Hynne de l'Esté* (sic), *Hynne de l'Autonne,* and *Hynne de l'Hyver.*

[345] For this story, see p. 23, above.

when he has heard her words, at once makes ready to obey the divine bidding:

> A-tant se teut la Nuit, et le Sommeil adonq
> Se vestit d'un manteau comme un grand reistre long,[346]
> Prit des souliers de feutre.

M. Vianey, in the same article in which he discusses the *Discours des Miseres,*[347] mentions this passage, and says that in his opinion its source is the same as that of certain lines in the *Discours;*[348] that is, Ariosto's description of Silence, *Orlando Furioso,* XIV, 94, l. 6:

> Ha le scarpe di feltro, e'l mantel bruno.

The last poem in the *Trois livres du Recueil* to claim our attention is a *discours* addressed to Ronsard's kind patroness, Mary of Scotland, "Le jour que vostre voile aux Zephyrs se courba." In it he sincerely laments her return to her own country, which has deprived the French Court of the

> Tant de beautez rares
> Dont les Graces des Cieux ne vous furent avares.
> (L., V, p. 5)

Ronsard is translating here ll. 49-51 of Ariosto's Sixth Elegy, always a favorite with him.[349]

In 1564 Ronsard published nothing; but in 1565 he brought out several *plaquettes,*[350] and also a collection of new poems, the *Elegies, Mascarades et Bergerie,* dedicated to Elizabeth of England. M. Laumonier has pointed out[351] that in two of the poems gathered in this volume, an elegy "Comme une belle et jeune fiancée,"[352] addressed to Catherine de' Medici, and the *Bergerie,* there is mention of characters in the *Orlando Furioso;*

[346] I quote here the Blanchemain edition, t. V, p. 210, used by M. Vianey (see note 2, below). The L. edition gives a variant: "Couvrit son chef d'un voile autant large que long." The text of L. is of course based on the 1584 edition of the work of Ronsard; the version given by Blanchemain is probably the original one, for in his *Remonstrance au peuple de France* (1562) Ronsard pictures the typical Protestant as having "d'un reistre long les espaules couvertes" (cf. L., V, p. 372).

[347] Cf. "L'Arioste et les discours de Ronsard," *Revue Universitaire,* XII (1903), 475.

[348] See p. 57, above.

[349] Cf. pp. 4, 5, 13, 17, 29, 31, 38, above.

[350] These contained no imitations of A.

[351] In his notes to L.; see below.

[352] *Tab. Chron.:* "Comme une mere ardente en son courage."

and also that in the *Discours à Elizabeth, Royne d'Angleterre,* which stands at the head of the collection, there is a passage imitated from the *Orlando.* I have found additional material taken from the epic in the elegy to Queen Catherine, mentioned above, and in four other poems. Two of the laments of Bradamante [353] are imitated. The *Opere Minori* are entirely neglected in this volume; their influence is nowhere apparent.

The *Discours à Elizabeth,* " Mon coeur esmeu de merveille se serre," begins, as one might expect, with a flourishing compliment to her beauty, which has, says the poet, no equal, for Providence, after forming it, broke the mould (" Beauté qui . . . . Et que . . . . "). Ronsard had previously addressed the same phrases to Marguerite of France, Duchess of Savoy; [354] as M. Laumonier remarks,[355] the conceit is taken from Ariosto's description of the handsome Zerbino, Prince of Scotland, *Orlando Furioso,* X, 84, ll. 4-8.[356]

Also intended as a compliment to Elizabeth was another *discours, Les Paroles que dist Merlin le Prophete Anglois esmerveillé de voir Artus en sa jeunesse accomply de toutes vertus.* This is a most astonishing mixture of Greek myths and Arthurian legends; Merlin recounts that Jupiter, after forming of the finest clay and the purest water the body of Arthur, breathed into it a noble soul, while the three Fates, selecting an especially white and perfect fleece, spun with the greatest care a strong and even life-thread for the future king. (Ll. 1-40, " Quand Jupiter . . . . Brisant le cours . . . . "; L., III, pp. 253-255).

It will be remembered that this story of the Fates and the beautiful fleece has appeared before in one of Ronsard's earlier poems, the *Ode à Michel de l'Hospital* (1552).[357] It was inspired partly by Catullus, *Epithalamium* (of Peleus and Thetis), ll. 338-370, but chiefly by Ariosto's description of the Parcae spinning the life-thread of his patron, Ippolito d'Este, given in the *Orlando Furioso,* XXXIV, 87, 88, and XXXV, 3-5, 8 and 9.[358] Ronsard uses it, as did Ariosto, to introduce a panegyric

[353] There are five of these; cf. p. xvi, above.
[354] See p. 61, above.
[355] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 198.
[356] Cf. p. 36, above.
[357] See p. 30 of this thesis.
[358] See p. xvi, above.

of some one whom he wishes to honor; in the first case, Michel de l'Hospital, and in the second, Arthur.

In the *Discours à M. de Foix,*[359] "Ton bon conseil, ta prudence et ta vie," Ronsard returns to a subject which at this time was never long absent from his thoughts: the miserable condition to which three years of civil war had reduced France. If only, he says, he could have passed the time in senseless oblivion, and not have seen what he has seen, nor known what he has known; happy the dormice, that sleep six months in the year without awakening ("Ha, que . . . . Par ses . . . . "). When Bradamante is waiting impatiently at her father's castle for Ruggiero to come and claim her as his bride, and finding each day of fruitless expectation harder than the last, she envies the hibernating animals, the bears, dormice, and badgers, and wishes that she could sleep unceasingly until her lover arrives (*O. F.*, XXXII, 12, ll. 1-6). Finally she has a dream, in which Ruggiero appears to her and assures her of his unchanging love; upon awakening, she exclaims:

Se 'l dormir mi dà gaudio, e il veggiar guai,
Possa io dormir senza destarmi mai.

O felice animai ch'un sonno forte
Sei mesi tien senza mai gli occhi aprire!
Che s'assimigli tal sonno alla morte,
Tal veggiare alla vita, io non vo' dire;
Ch' a tutt' altre contraria la mia sorte
Sente morte a veggiar, vita a dormire.
(*O. F.*, XXXIII, 63, ll. 7, 8; 64, ll. 1-6)

The same episode in the *Orlando* probably inspired the following passage in the elegy to Catherine de' Medici, mentioned above (p. 69):

Comme une belle et jeune fiancée[360]
De qui l'amour resveille la pensée,
Souspire apres son amy nuict et jour,
Et triste attend l'heure de son retour:
Si chaude ardeur de le voir la transporte,
Qu'à la fenestre, au chemin, à la porte

[359] Paul de Foix, *conseiller au parlement de Paris;* Cf. L., notes, VII p. 376.

[360] In L. the poem begins with this line. L., however, is based on the 1584 edition of the works of Ronsard (*Sixième Edition Collective*); in his *Tableau Chronologique,* p. 40, note 3, M. Laumonier states that in 1565 eight lines, of which the first was "Comme une mere ardente en son courage," preceded this one. They were suppressd in 1578.

Cent fois le jour et cent va regardant:
Mais en voyant que le temps ce-pendant
De sa promesse a ja passé son heure,
En s'enfermant dedans sa chambre pleure,
Gemit, souspire et mord le lict en vain.
Puis discourant d'un jugement mal-sain
Sur ce qui peut retarder la presence
D'un jeune amant, à toute chose pense,
Resue, discourt, et plèine d'amour fait
Que son penser n'est jamais satisfait
Par un douter, qui mal-ferme chancelle,
Feignant tousjours quelque cause nouvelle.
De tel desir toute France qui pend
De vos vertus, vostre presence attend.
(L., III, p. 297)

This is exactly the story told of Bradamante in Canto XXXII, 10-27, 35 and 36: Ruggiero, her betrothed, has promised to come for her in twenty days (stanza 10); in her impatience for this term to be ended, she passes her days in longing for night-fall, and her nights in watching for the dawn (stanzas 11-13); often she mounts to the watch-tower of the castle, to see if she can spy her lover coming in the distance, or descends to the road by the gate, in order to meet him if he should be near (stanzas 14-16); but at last the appointed time is past, the days go on, and still he does not come; Bradamante is in despair, and utters the most heart-rending lamentations (stanzas 17-25); then the reaction comes, she excuses him to herself, and builds up her hopes again (stanzas 26, 27). At last she hears by chance that Ruggiero is courting another lady; she goes to her room, throws herself on her bed, and bites the sheets in order to stifle her sobs (stanzas 35 and 36). When we consider that this episode must have been as familiar to Ronsard, and to the people for whom he wrote, as any much-talked-of scene in any one of the best-known modern novels is to us today, it seems not unlikely that Bradamante is the "belle et jeune fiancée" to whom the verses in the elegy allude.

The whole poem is, of course, a plea for the return to Paris of Queen Catherine, who from September of 1564 to January, 1565, was absent on a "visit of pacification" to the various provinces.[361] Ronsard goes on to recall the numerous fetes

[361] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 379.

which had taken place before her departure, and to regret that the good times are now at an end:

> Quand voirrons nous un autre Polynesse
> Tromper Dalinde . . . .
>
> (L., III, p. 300)

The reference, as M. Laumonier points out,[362] is to two characters in the lost tragi-comedy *Genièvre,* based on a story told in Cantos IV-VI of the *Orlando Furioso,* and played at Fontainebleau on February 13, 1564. Its author is unknown.[363]

Among the royal shepherds and shepherdesses who take part in the *Bergerie,*[364] Ronsard has introduced two " pasteurs voyageurs " who recount the interesting things which they have seen in their travels. One of them has been to Italy; he visited, he says, Ferrara, and saw the ruler of that state, who prides himself on his descent from Ruggiero (" Je vy des Ferrarois . . . . "). This was Alfonso[365] d'Este, whose family was supposed to be descended from Ruggiero, the chief hero of the Orlando, according to a story told in Canto III, 1-62, of the epic. Consult L., notes, VII, p. 389; and see p. 5 of this thesis.

Among the sonnets, of which there were a number in this collection, is one addressed to the Prince de Condé (" Qui a point veu aux tristes jours d'hyver "), felicitating him on his return to court after an absence of some duration. Without Condé, says Ronsard, the place has been wrapped in gloomy winter; but now he has come, bringing with him, like the Sun, springtime, gaiety, and mirth. The image is taken from the most famous of the laments of Bradamante, *Orlando Furioso,* XLV, 38, and 39, ll. 1-4. Ronsard has already imitated this lament several times, and I have discussed it in connection with his earlier imitations.[366]

[362] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 379.

[363] Cf. Jacques Madelaine, " La Belle Genièvre, première en date des tragi-comédies françaises," *Revue de la Renaissance,* IV (1903), 30-46. Cf. also L., notes, VII, pp. 379 and 399.

[364] Ronsard includes in the cast Queen Catherine, her three younger children, and her sister-in-law, Marguerite of Savoy.

[365] Not Ippolito, as given in L.

[366] See p. 28, above.

Another sonnet, *Des Larmes de ma Maitresse,*[367] begins thus:

> Quand en pleurant ma Maitresse s'ennuye,
> Voyant s'amye avoir mille douleurs,
> L'enfant Amour se baigne dans ses pleurs,
> Et dans ses yeux ses larmes il essuye.
> C'est du Cristal, ce n'est pas une pluye
> Qui tombe helas!
> (L., VI, pp. 360, 361)

I am not sure, but I think that these lines may have been inspired by Ariosto's description of the weeping Olimpia,[368] *Orlando Furioso,* XI, 64, ll. 7, 8, and 65.

During the year 1566 Ronsard abstained from publishing; and of the work brought out in 1567, only one line of one poem holds any interest for us. The poem is an *Epitaphe,* beginning " Si d'un Seigneur la vertu memorable," contributed by Ronsard to the *Epitaphes sur le Tombeau de haut et puissant Seigneur Anne Duc de Montmorency, Pair, et Connestable de France. Par. I. Dorat . . . . P. de Ronsard . . . . Et autres doctes Personnages. En diverses langues.* (Paris, Ph. G. de Roville.)[369] After praising the illustrious race from which the *Connétable* was descended, the poet declared that he had surpassed every other member of his family as a great warrior, a great noble, and a man of perfect and honorable life,

> Où l'envieux n'a trouvé que reprendre.
> (L., V, p. 280)

Now the question arises: did Ronsard borrow this phrase from Ariosto's famous description of the nose of Alcina, " Quindi il naso per mezzo il viso scende, Che non trova l'Invidia ove l'emende? "[370]

It will be remembered that he had already imitated the lines in the *Orlando* in his *Elegie à Janet,*[371] as follows (Ronsard is describing the nose of his mistress):

> Ny court, ny aquilin,
> Poli, traitis, où l'envieux malin
> Quand il voudroit n'y sçauroit que reprendre.
> (L., I, p. 121)

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[367] The notes in L. give no clue to this lady's identity.

[368] A well-known passage, with which Ronsard was entirely familiar; cf. p. 2 of this thesis.

[369] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 516.

[370] *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 12, ll. 7, 8; and see p. xvi, above.

[371] See p. 39, above.

Moreover, although in the *Epitaphe* he was treating a totally different subject, we know that Ronsard was perfectly capable of disassociating the movement of a passage from its theme, and of imitating the one while ignoring the other. We have found examples of this in the *Baiser de Cassandre* [372] and in one of the *discours* to Genévre; [373] and it is quite possible that the line in the *Epitaphe* may be a case of the same kind.

After another silent year there appeared in 1569 *Le Sixiesme et le Septiesme livre des Poëmes;* [374] they contained sixty new pieces. M. Laumonier has called attention to a case of *rapprochement* with the *Orlando* in one of these, the *Discours d'un amoureux desesperé.*[375] He has also pointed out that in another, *L'Ombre du Cheval,* there are references to two of the characters in the epic.[376] I have found evidence of the influence of the *Orlando* in three other poems; in one of these Ronsard has imitated a passage in the scene in which Orlando goes mad,[377] and in another, Bradamante's first lament of Canto XXXII.[378] No imitation of the *Opere Minori* is observable in this collection.

First on the list is a sonnet, "Seul je me deuls, et nul ne peut sçavoir." [379] Which one of Ronsard's many passions inspired this poem it is impossible to say; lines 5 to 12, however, were almost certainly suggested by Bradamante's lament of Canto XXXII, stanzas 21, ll. 1, 2, and 22, in which she reproaches herself for having so quickly yielded her affections to Ruggiero; the unbridled passion is carrying her to her death, she sees the fate in store for her, but can not avoid it.[380]

[372] See p. 15, above. [373] See p. 64, above.

[374] The other *Livres* had appeared in the *Deuxieme Edition Collective,* 1560.

[375] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 479. [376] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 482.

[377] See p. xvi, above. [378] See p. xvi, above.

[379] *Tab. Chron.:* "Seul je m'avise et nul ne peut sçavoir."

[380] Cf. also Petrarch, *Canzoniere,* "Sí traviato è'l folle mi' desio"; this is certainly the source of the verses in the *Orlando,* and perhaps has also influenced those of Ronsard. Petrarch perhaps took the simile from Plato, *Phaedrus,* 246-56; cf. R. V. Merrill, "Platonism in Petrarch's 'Canzoniere,'" *Mod. Phil.,* November, 1929.

Another love poem, an elegy [381] to M. Le Gast,[382] " Je suis brulé, le Gast, d'une double chaleur," [383] contains the lines,

> Cest Amour, cest oiseau, car oiseau je l'appelle,
> Esvente quelquefois ma chaleur de son aile.
> (L., IV, p. 103)

Ronsard has frequently made use of this metaphor; [384] he is imitating, I think, a speech of Orlando's (*O. F.*, XXIII, 127, ll. 5, 6; the scene in which the Paladin goes mad).

The elegy " Comme un guerrier refroidi de prouesse " [385] is written to a lady of high rank.[386] Ronsard is respectful, but ardent; before he met her, he says, he had been firmly resolved never to love again; but one sight of her beautiful face had changed all his ideas; her eyes, two stars, caused him to burn as though ignited sulphur were running in his veins (" Car aussi tost . . . . Un soulfre . . . . ").

The sudden appearance of the beautiful Alcina produced on Ruggiero a similar effect (*Orlando Furioso,* VII, 27, ll. 1-4); Ronsard had imitated these lines before in one of the *Hymnes des Quatre Saisons, L'Esté;* consult page 68, above.

The *Discours d'un amoureux desesperé, et de son compagnon qui le console, et d'Amour qui le reprend,* is, as its title indicates, a dialogue between three persons. First, the lover exposes his woes, describes the pride and cruelty of his mistress, and the suffering which they cause him. Then his friend speaks, urging him not to lose courage, and proposing a remedy; beneath an oak in the forest of Ardenne there is, he says, a spring; Angelica, drinking of this water, was completely cured of her infatuation for Rinaldo; if the lover will drink of it likewise, he also may be cured (" On dit . . . . Bois-en . . . . "). Ronsard is referring, as M. Laumonier remarks,[387] to a passage in the *Orlando Furioso,* I, 78, which tells how Angelica, the beautiful Princess of Cathay, came to despise the Paladin Rinaldo, whom

[381] *Elegie XVIII* in L.

[382] One of the favorites of Henri III, he was murdered in 1575; cf. L., notes, VII, p. 416.

[383] *Tab. Chron.:* " Le Gast je suis brulé d'amour et de chaleur."

[384] See p. 37, above.

[385] *Elegie XXII* in L.

[386] For in it Ronsard says to her "A vostre sang le mien n'est pas egal" (L., IV, p. 127). M. Laumonier believes this lady to have been Isabeau de Limeuil; cf. L., notes, VII, p. 418.

[387] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 479.

she had formerly loved, and how he, who had never cared for her, became desperately enamored of her. These effects were produced by the waters of two fountains, both in Ardennewood, and one of which had the power to excite, the other to extinguish, love. Of course, it must be remembered that Ariosto has merely taken over this story from the *Orlando Innamorato* of Matteo Maria Boiardo,[388] of whose epic the *Orlando Furioso* is a continuation; but there is nothing in the passage in the *Discours* which would indicate that Ronsard had gone for his material to the *Innamorato* rather than to the *Furioso*. Indeed, we have no proof that he had ever read the earlier poem; it was much less widely known, outside of Italy, than the *Orlando Furioso*.

L'Ombre du Cheval is addressed to Jean Belot, *Maître des requêtes de l'hôtel du Roi*.[389] It is a humorous fantasy, intended, its author says, to divert Belot's mind from the cares and worries of his office;[390] Ronsard exercises his imagination upon the description of a horse, which his friend has sent him; he compares it with the famous Baiardo, Rinaldo's charger ("Ce bon cheval Bayard . . . . ").

A few lines further on he speaks of the winged beasts conjured up by the enchanter Malagigi, whose spells served him in love and war.

M. Laumonier points out[391] that Rinaldo and his horse, and the wizard Malagigi, appear frequently in the stanzas of the *Orlando Furioso;* consult for the former Cantos I, II, and XXXIII, and for the latter Cantos XXVI, XXXIII and XLII. It should be added that they all play just as prominent parts in the *Orlando Innamorato*[392] as in the *Furioso,* and that Rinaldo, especially, was famous in French and Italian literature long before either of the *Orlandos* were written;[393] nevertheless,

[388] Cf. *Orl. Inn.,* I, iii, 32-40; II, xv, 26 and 55-63; xx, 44 and 45.

[389] To whom the whole *Sixiesme livre* is dedicated. Cf. L., notes, VII, pp. 472 and 482.

[390] "Pour mieux te faire rire Apres ta charge" (L., V, p. 112).

[391] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 482.

[392] On Rinaldo cf. *Orl. Inn.,* I, v, and III, iv; on Malagigi, *Orl. Inn.,* II, xxii and xxiii.

[393] Cf. Joseph Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques* (4 vols.; Paris, H. Champion, 1908-1913), III, 36, and IV, 190 sqq.; also Léon Gautier, *Les Epopées françaises* (4 vols.; Paris, Société générale de librairie catholique, 1878-1882), II, Ch. xxviii.

Ronsard probably knew them best through the medium of the *Orlando Furioso.*

In 1571 came the Troisième Edition Collective, in five volumes. It contained twenty-eight new pieces, of which two show imitation of the *Orlando Furioso,* and one of Ariosto's Third Elegy.

Several of the new poems had been composed for the fetes held at Court during the Carnival season of 1571;[394] among these was a *Monologue de Mercure aux Dames,* "Dames, je suis le courrier Atlantide." Mercury informs the ladies that he has been sent to France to find a certain knight, perfect in bravery and in constant love, who is destined to conquer the *Chasteau perilleux,* a delectable spot surrounded by horrible dangers; in narrating its beauties Ronsard has imitated Ariosto's description of the gardens about the castle of Alcina, *Orlando Furioso,* VI, 20-22, and 72-75. He had already taken material from these stanzas (except 75) for one of his *Hymnes des Quatre Saisons, Autonne;* I have mentioned them in connection with that poem.[395]

The elegy "Le temps se passe et se passant, Madame" was from all appearances composed in 1562,[396] shortly after Ronsard's love-affair with Genévre[397] had drawn to a close. In it the poet speaks, somewhat regretfully, I think, of the period when his passion for her had just begun. He relates that, two days after his first meeting with Genévre, he had been forced to leave Paris for Saint-Germain-en-Laye, where King Charles IX was residing; his reluctance to quit the city just at this interesting state of affairs had made the short trip to the village an extremely dreary one; his road seemed endless, strewn with rocks and thorns, and the landscape was to his eyes a dreary desert ("Le court . . . . Sur une . . . . "). After one night spent at Saint-Germain the pangs of absence became so unbearable that he decided to return to Paris; he leaped on a horse and fled, and this time the ride was marvelously short, and the road seemed paved with jasmine ("Je n'avois dit . . . . Qui me

[394] Cf. L., notes, VII, pp. 401 and 403.

[395] See p. 68, above.

[396] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 418.

[397] I accent the name thus because Ronsard always does so. On his earlier poems to Genévre, cf. pp. 63, 66, above.

. . . . "). When in 1522 Ariosto departed for Castelnuovo to become governor of the Garfagnana he left behind him in Ferrara the lady of his heart, Alessandra Benucci-Strozzi.[398] In his Third Elegy, "Meritamente ora punir mi veggio," the poet describes himself as riding sadly through the mountains[399] to his new post, while the wind beats upon him in great gusts, and the rain soaks his head and shoulders. It is not, however, the inclemency of the elements which causes him the greatest discomfort, but the thought that each step is taking him further from Alessandra; if he were traveling towards her, the rough hill roads would seem smooth and fair; but without her, even the orchards of Alcinous[400] would seem barren (ll. 34-48). Setting aside the fact that they were inspired by similar situations, there is certainly not a little resemblance between the verses of Ronsard and those of Ariosto.

The third case of *rapprochement* in this group occurs in the *Epitaphe de Claude de l'Aubespine.*[401] Ronsard makes it appear that the poem is a lament uttered spontaneously by the wife of the dead man; she relates how, kissing him, she preserved on her lips his last breath ("Toy trespassant . . . . Et pour . . . .").

This is, I believe, another of Ronsard's many imitations[402] of *Orlando Furioso,* XXIV, 82, ll. 5-8[403] (the death of Zerbino). It should especially be compared with the passage from his *Adonis* which I have discussed above;[404] the lament of Venus upon the death of Adonis resembles in content and movement that of Mme de l'Aubespine.

In 1572 Ronsard was able partially to gratify a long-cherished desire; he published the first four books of his *Franciade.* These contained a certain number of imitations of the *Orlando Furioso,* of which M. Vianey has already pointed out the most striking

[398] Cf. the Polidori edition of the *Opere Minori* (2 vols., Florence, Le Monnier, 1857), I, 189 and 218.

[399] Castelnuovo is in a cleft of the Apennines.

[400] King of the Phaeacians; his orchards were famous for their beauty; cf. Homer, *Odyssey,* VII, 112-132.

[401] *Secrétaire d'Etat,* d. 1570; cf. L., notes, VII, p. 520.

[402] For these cf. pp. 36, 64, 66, 85 of this thesis.

[403] See p. xvi, above.

[404] See p. 66.

examples;[405] the additional cases of *rapprochement* which I have found are few and unimportant.

One or two points in connection with the relationship between the *Franciade* and the *Orlando,* however, still remain to be discussed. In the first place, M. Vianey, in the article which I have mentioned, quotes[406] three passages from the second book of the *Franciade,* "Des vieux patrons . . . . Et fait la mer . . . . " (L., III, p. 47);[407] "Tantost pendus . . . . Pirouettés . . . . " (L., III, p. 47);[407] "Ainsi qu'on voit . . . . Et la navire . . . . " (L., III, pp. 48, 49),[408] all parts of a long description of a storm and shipwreck at sea, and gives as their respective sources three passages in the *Orlando Furioso:* XLI, 12; XLI, 15; and XL, 29, 30. This is an error, but a very natural one; the truth is that Ronsard has imitated, not the stanzas in the *Orlando,* but the source of those stanzas, to wit, Ovid's description of the tempest in which Ceyx was drowned, *Metamorphoses,* XI, 478-557. Of course, since they both come from the same source, the verses of Ariosto and those of Ronsard resemble each other; but they are not, I think, in any way related.

There is, however, a short passage in Ronsard's description of the sea-storm which *does* come from the *Orlando Furioso.* When he describes the ship which bears Francus and his companions as being tossed about by the waves

> Ainsi qu'on voit en la campagne vague
> Au mois de May les espis éventez
> Qui bas qui hault tournez et tourmentez.[409]

he is imitating *Orlando Furioso,* XVI, 68, ll. 3-6 (a description of the shifting movements of two opposing armies). It will be remembered that this simile is a favorite with the poet, and that he has used it frequently before.[410]

[405] Cf. his article on "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 300-306.

[406] *Op. cit.,* pp. 305, 306.

[407] III, p. 94 in the Blanchemain edition of the works of Ronsard, cited by M. Vianey.

[408] III, pp. 96, 97, in the Blanchemain edition.

[409] This passage, which was suppressed in 1573, appears in L., notes, VII, p. 326.

[410] See p. 13, above.

Francus manages to struggle ashore, and finds himself in the domain of Dicée, king of the Corybans, who receives him with great kindness. In order to show his gratitude, Francus undertakes to fight and kill Phovère, a cruel giant, who has for some time been making havoc among the Corybans; this duel is full of reminiscences of the combats waged by the various heroes of the *Orlando*. Like them, Francus and Phovère fight with lances, on horseback; and so violent is their first encounter, that the shattered blades fly ringing to the sky, while the destriers fall backwards on their haunches ("Du coup . . . . Tant d'un grand . . . . "). This resembles, says M. Vianey,[411] the beginning of the battle waged between three Christian knights, Orlando, Brandimarte, and Oliviero, and three pagans, Gradasso, Sobrino, and Agramante, on a lonely island in the sea (*O. F.*, XLI, 68; 69, ll. 1-3; 70, ll. 1-4).

Francus is better mounted than is Phovère:

> Du bon Troyen le cheval fut adroit,
> Qui sans frayeur tournoit en tout endroit:
> Et la cavale en crainte estoit frapée
> Oyant l'effroy du siflant de l'espée.
> (L., III, p. 76)

When Rodomonte of Sarza and Mandricardo of Tartary fight for the love of Doralice, the horse of the Tartar endeavors to shy away from the hissing steel:

> Il cavallo del Tartaro, ch' aborre
> La spada che fischiando cala d'alto,
> . . . . S'arretra per fuggir d'un salto.
> (XXIV, 105, ll. 1, 2, and 4)

But to return to the findings of M. Vianey: the source of the passage "L'un resembloit . . . . D'un oeil prudent . . . . "[412] (in which Phovère is compared to a huge wave, and Francus to an expert pilot, who by his manœuvres frees his ship from danger) is given in his article[413] as *Orlando Furioso*, XLI, 74, ll. 1-6 (Sobrino defending himself from Orlando; he is likened to a skillful mariner navigating stormy waters). With this *rapprochement* I cannot agree; in my opinion Ronsard has imitated, as in the case of his description of the storm and ship-

[411] *Op. cit.*, p. 302.
[412] L., III, pp. 76, 77; Blanchemain, III, p. 130.
[413] *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

wreck (see page 80, above), not the *Orlando,* but the sources of the *Orlando:* Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica,* II, 70-75, and V. Flaccus, *Argon.,* IV, 268-272, the combat of Amycos and Pollux, in which Amycos is likened to a great threatening wave, and Pollux to a wise pilot, who by his skillful handling of the tiller saves his ship and himself from being overwhelmed.

Phovère deals Francus a dreadful sword-stroke, like the fall of an anvil, but the latter is saved by the excellent temper of his armor ("De son[414] . . . . Seroit . . . . ").[415] This M. Vianey compares[416] to the blow dealt by the Christian knight Grifone to the pagan King of Seleucia (*O. F.,* XVII, 101, ll. 3-4, 7-8).

Francus, with his head ringing from the shock, is carried away by his horse, over which he has for the moment lost control ("Francus troublé . . . . Comme il . . . . ").[417] For these details, M. Vianey believes,[418] Ronsard has gone back to the description of the combat on the island, mentioned above,[419] in which Orlando receives from Gradasso a blow which renders him temporarily incapable of action (*O. F.,* XLI, 96, ll. 5-8; 97, ll. 1-4).

Francus returns his adversary blow for blow, and finally, grasping him about the body, endeavors to tear him from the saddle ("Francus le prend, ... Dessus . . . . "). When Mandricardo and Orlando fought their famous duel for the possession of the sword Durindana, Mandricardo tried the same tactics on the Paladin; and I believe that Ariosto's description of the episode (*O. F.,* XXIII, 85, ll. 5-8; 86, ll. 1-2, 5-6; 87, ll. 1-7; 88, ll. 1-2) is the source of the passage given above.

After both the giant and the young Trojan have quitted their saddles, the battle is continued afoot ("Tantost petits . . . . Mieux . . . . "). At this point it resembles, says M. Vianey,[420] the struggle waged between Rinaldo and Sacripante for the favor of Angelica (*O. F.,* II, 9, ll. 3-6), in which the combatants

[414] Thus in L.; Blanchemain gives, "Le pressant, l'espaule luy toucha."
[415] For this passage cf. L., III, p. 77, and VII, p. 333; and Bl. III, 130.
[416] *Op. cit.,* p. 303.
[417] L., III, p. 77; VII, p. 333; and Blanchemain, III, p. 131.
[418] Cf. *op. cit.,* pp. 303, 304.
[419] See p. 81 of this thesis.
[420] *Op. cit.,* p. 304.

shift and feint, each watching for the chance to strike a decisive blow.

Francus is stabbed in the arm, so that, says Ronsard, his blood running from the wound resembles the scarlet thread which a young girl embroiders on a piece of gauze ("Le sang . . . . Dessus . . . . ").[421]

This simile[422] is taken, as M. Vianey points out,[423] from Ariosto's description of the combat between Zerbino and Mandricardo, in which the former is badly wounded (*O. F.*, XXIV, 65, ll. 7, 8; 66, ll. 1-4).

At last comes the end of the struggle; Francus catches Phovère in his arms, raises him high in air, then hurls him to the ground and stabs him ("Adjoustant . . . . A longs . . . . ").

It will be remembered that the last episode in the *Orlando Furioso* is a duel between Ruggiero and Rodomonte—a duel begun with lances, on horseback, then carried on afoot, with swords, and ended by Ruggiero's lifting the gigantic King of Sarza off his feet, throwing him prone, and driving a dagger into his brain. Ariosto's recital of how Ruggiero threw his opponent (XLVI, 134; 135, ll. 1-4) seems to have been the source of the passage in the *Franciade* quoted above.[424]

King Dicée has two daughters, Hyante and Clymene. In the third book of the *Franciade* Ronsard narrates that Venus, wishing Hyante to assist Francus in his projects, comes to the girl's bedside as she sleeps and tells her that she must love the Trojan, who has traveled from his own land, not, as he pretends, in order to conquer Gaul, but because the fame of Hyante's beauty had drawn him to look on her fair face, and, if possible, to wed her ("Pauvre Troyan . . . . Se joindre . . . . "). These words, which are of course perfectly false, recall another episode in the *Orlando*. Mandricardo, the Tartar knight, has carried off by force the bride of Rodomonte. The lady is frightened and

[421] Given in L., notes, VII, p. 335; this passage does not appear in the 1584 edition of the *Franciade* (*Sixième Ed. Coll.*, IIIe partie). Cf. also Blanchemain, III, p. 134.

[422] Ronsard has imitated this and the preceding simile before; cf. p. 47.

[423] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 304.

[424] Compare also with this passage the encounters between: Aeneas and Turnus, Virgil, *Aeneid*, XII; Pollux and Amycos, Theocritus, *Idyls*, XXII, and Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*, II.

tearful; but Mandricardo has at his tongue's end any number of flattering falsehoods with which to soothe her:

> Compone e finge molte cose, e dice
> Che per fama gran tempo ben le volle;
> E che la patria, e il suo regno felice
> Che 'l nome di grandezza agli altri tolle,
> Lasciò, non per vedere o Spagna o Francia,
> Ma sol per contemplar sua bella guancia.
> (*O. F.*, XIV, 57, ll. 3-8)

Unfortunately, Dicée's other daughter, Clymene, has also fallen in love with the young stranger, and so violently, that she is moved to write Francus a letter, in which she expresses, without any reserves, her feelings toward him. It was impossible, she says, for her to see him, and not to love him; unhappy is the being who would avoid seeing and enjoying the light of the Sun ("Qui me . . . . Pour ne . . . . "). In the same phrases Bradamante had excused her love for Ruggiero (*Orlando Furioso,* XXXII, 23, ll. 5-8).[425]

This ends the group of *rapprochements* discovered by M. Vianey and myself. It will be observed that they almost all occur in a single episode—the duel between Francus and Phovère. The reason for this is obvious; the duel is a tilting-match after the fashion of the Middle Ages, in other words, an anachronism; Ronsard could not take the material for its earlier stages from classic models, for there were none; he therefore had recourse to the *Orlando,* which contained many famous descriptions of jousts and broadsword-play.

Charles IX of France died on May 30, 1574. He had been to Ronsard an excellent patron and a sincere friend;[426] with him vanished the poet's fairest hopes of future advancement. M. Laumonier remarks:[427] "Ronsard's reign may be said to have ended almost at the same time as that of Charles IX; our poet was soon to see himself dethroned by one of his young disciples, Desportes, who had accompanied Henry of Anjou to his kingdom of Poland, and rhymed amorous elegies for him at Cracow."

Ronsard was prompt to honor the king who had done so much for him; about two months after the death he published, in col-

[425] Ronsard has imitated this passage before; cf. p. 67, above.
[426] Cf. M. Laumonier's *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 241-248.
[427] *Op. cit.,* p. 248.

laboration with Amadis Jamyn and Robert Garnier,[428] *Le Tombeau du feu Roy treschrestien Charles IX.* Besides a sonnet and some verses in Latin, Ronsard contributed to this volume a long *complainte,* "Donque entre les souspirs, les sanglots et la rage," in which he pictures the Queen-Mother and the Queen-Consort, Catherine and Elizabeth, weeping over the dying monarch, and seeking, with their lips upon his, the last vestiges of his departing soul ("Ici pleuroit . . . . Pour en . . . . "). This is probably imitated from the famous passage in Ariosto's description of the death of Zerbino, *Orlando Furioso,* XXIV, 82, ll. 5-8, which has served Ronsard as a source of inspiration on many occasions in the past.[429]

In September of 1574 Ronsard had suffered another great loss in the person of Marguerite of France, Duchess of Savoy, always his kind protectress.[430] Her also he honored, in 1575, by a long poem, *Le Tombeau de Marguerite de France, Duchesse de Savoye;*[431] in it he praises her with the same phrases with which he had once complimented the Duchess when she was alive,[432] saying that after Heaven had created her, the mould had been broken ("Le ciel . . . . Le desir . . . . "). As the source of this conceit M. Laumonier indicates[433] Ariosto's description of the Scottish Prince Zerbino, *Orlando Furioso,* X, 84, ll. 5-7. I have already mentioned these lines in connection with Ronsard's previous imitations of them.[434]

The period of his greatest activity as a court poet was now drawing to a close. Henri III was by no means willing to favor him as Charles IX had done;[435] and Ronsard soon withdrew from the Court, dividing his time between his two priories of Croixval and Saint-Cosme.[436]

[428] Cf. the *Tableau Chronologique,* p. 51, notes 4 and 5.

[429] Cf. pp. 36, 64, 66, 79, above.

[430] Cf. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 63 and 218.

[431] Published alone; cf. the *Tableau Chronologique,* p. 53.

[432] In the poem "Royne, qui de vertus passes Artemisie," on which cf. p. 61, above.

[433] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 198.

[434] See p. 70, above.

[435] Cf. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 249, 250.

[436] Cf. *op. cit.,* p. 250, note 4.

The Last Years: 1578-1585. I shall not list the publications of these last years. Except for three, the *Cinquième* and *Sixième Editions Collectives* and the *Derniers vers,* none of them hold any interest for us; the rest consist of a few short isolated poems, mostly *pièces liminaires,* and a long poem published in pamphlet form, *Le Panégyrique de la Renommée* (1579).[437]

The twenty-seven new pieces written for the *Septième Edition Collective*[438] show no imitation of the work of Ariosto; I shall therefore omit all mention of this collection. One of the nine poems in the *Derniers vers,* however, shows traces of his influence; since it is known that the *Derniers vers* were composed only a few weeks before the poet's death,[439] this is a striking proof of Ronsard's constant admiration for the work of the Italian.

Of the 238 new pieces[440] contained in the *Cinquième Edition* Collective (1578), the majority are love-poems which had been written during the reign of Charles IX. During his stirring years of service at the court Ronsard had perhaps been too busy to edit them; but now, in his quiet retreats in Vendômois or in Touraine, it must have been pleasant for him to read over the songs he had sung to Hélène, to Astrée, and, in the name of his royal master, to Callirée. We should naturally expect a collection of this kind to show considerable imitation of the poetry of Ariosto, and so it does; M. Laumonier has pointed out[441] three poems, "Je lamente sans reconfort" (*Amours,* II, *Sur la mort de Marie*), "Une seule vertu, tant soit parfaite et belle" (*Sonnets pour Helene*), "Lors que le Ciel te fist, il rompit la modelle" (*Sonnets pour Helene*), which contain material taken from the *Orlando Furioso;* I have found four more. In no case, however, are the *Opere Minori* imitated. The description of Olimpia[442] has influenced three poems; in two of these the influence of the description of

[437] Cf. the *Tableau Chronologique,* pp. 64-68.

[438] Published after the death of Ronsard by Galland and Binet, 1586-87; cf. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 268-270; and the *Tableau Chronologique,* pp. 69-71.

[439] In 1585; cf. *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 267, 268.

[440] Cf. *Tab. Chron.,* p. 54.

[441] In the notes to the L. edition; see below.

[442] See p. xvi, above.

Alcina[443] is also apparent. One poem contains a single line inspired by a passage in the scene in which Orlando goes mad.[444]

Marie du Pin, for whom Ronsard had written so many sonnets,[445] had died some years previously, probably in 1573.[446] He now honored her memory in sixteen poems *Sur la mort de Marie*. In one of these, a set of *stances* beginning "Je lamente sans reconfort," the poet expresses a fear that Nature will never again be able to produce a woman so charming, for the mould is broken in which Marie was formed ("Ou bien . . . . Pour . . . . ").

This is, as M. Laumonier has remarked,[447] another imitation of Ariosto's description of the peerless Zerbino, Prince of Scotland, *Orlando Furioso,* X, 84, ll. 5-7.[448]

For Charles IX and his mistress, Mlle d'Atri d'Aquaviva,[449] Ronsard had written a suite of six pieces, *Les Amours d'Eurymedon et de Callirée,*[450] in which the king figures as a hunter, and the lady as a water-nymph. One of these poems, a *Chanson par stances* beginning "Ah belle eau vive, ah fille d'un rocher," contains the following lines, supposed to be spoken by the royal lover:

> Faict par mes pleurs une eternelle source:
> . . . . Fils de Venus enfant ingenieux,
> Je te supply pour alleger ma peine,
> Que tout mon corps ne soit qu'une fonteine,
> Et que mon sang je verse par les yeux.
> (L., I, p. 243)

The idea of the lover become a fountain of tears is, of course, imitated from Petrarch, *Canzoniere,* "Nel dolce tempo de la

[443] See p. xvi, above.

[444] See p. xvi, above.

[445] Cf. *La Continuation des Amours* (1555); *La Nouvelle Continuation des Amours* (1556); and see pp. 42, 48 of this thesis.

[446] This is the year given by M. Laumonier; cf. his *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 255.

[447] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 198.

[448] Ronsard has often imitated this passage before; cf. pp. 61, 70, 85, above.

[449] On whom cf. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 255.

[450] Ronsard had abstained from publishing these pieces as a mark of respect to the Queen, Elizabeth of Austria; but she had returned to her own country in 1575, leaving him at liberty to print them. Cf. *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 255.

prima etade," ll. 112-120; but the last line quoted above, "Et que mon sang," etc., has another source: *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 126, in which Orlando, half mad with grief at the loss of Angelica, marvels at the abundance of his own tears.

In the poem *La Charite* [451] Ronsard celebrates the beauty, grace, and virtue of Marguerite de Valois, Queen of Navarre and sister to Charles IX. Venus, he says, one day asked her son whether any woman whom he had seen on Earth were fairer than she. The god of love replied that he had indeed seen one lady of unequaled beauty—Marguerite of France. This answer so incensed his mother that she instantly summoned one of her attendant Graces, and commanded her to descend to France, look upon the royal lady, and bring back a true report of her appearance.

Of the Grace, whom he calls Pasithée, the poet gives us a long description. This M. Laumonier considers [452] to be an imitation of a passage in the *Illustrations de Gaule* of Jean Lemaire (*Ill.,* I, xxxiii, the description of Venus). Certain details, however, Ronsard has undoubtedly taken from the *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 10-16, and XI, 65-71 (descriptions of Alcina and of Olimpia), on which he had drawn so heavily on past occasions.[453] When, for instance, he speaks of Pasithée's nose,

> Son nez sembloit hautement relevé
> Un petit tertre enclos en deux vallées.
> (L., II, p. 63)

he is evidently thinking of a remark that Ariosto made anent Alcina's mouth—that it was "quasi fra due vallette" (VII, 13, l. 1).

Moreover, the mouth of Pasithée ("Sa bouche . . . . En les . . . . ") resembles that of Alcina (VII, 13); Pasithée has rosy lips, and teeth like two rows of pearls, while her manner of speaking and of laughing has power to sway all hearts.

In the passage in which Ronsard speaks of Pasithée's bosom, and of her limbs ("Deux monts . . . . Sa jambe . . . . ") he has combined material from the descriptions of Alcina and of Olimpia (*O. F.,* VII, 14, ll. 2-6; XI, 68, ll. 3-4; 69, ll. 1, 3, 4).

[451] It was thus that Ronsard transcribed the Greek word for "Grace"; cf. L., notes, VII, p. 219.

[452] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 219.

[453] See p. xvi of this thesis.

La Charite is followed by a companion-piece, *L'Amour amoureux,* written in the same allegorical style. Cupid, who has been hovering over Paris, checks his flight to rest on the roof of the Louvre; and looking down upon the Palace grounds, he beholds Marguerite walking with her attendants:

L'Honneur et la Vertu suivoyent ceste Princesse,
Ainçois ce beau Soleil qui tiroit une presse
De Dames et d'Amours autour de son costé.
Elle, race des Rois, marchoit en gravité
Au milieu de sa troupe, et passoit les plus belles,
Comme l'aube la nuict de ses flames nouvelles.
(L., II, p. 68)

This is probably adapted from the passage in which Ariosto depicts Alcina and the members of her Court coming forward to greet Ruggiero, who has just delivered them from a giantess:

La bella Alcina venne un pezzo inante
Verso Ruggier fuor de le prime porte;
E lo raccolse in signoril sembiante,
In mezzo bella et onorata corte.

. . . . La più piacevol gente
Che fosse al mondo, e di più gentilezza.
Poco era l'un da l'altro differente
E di fiorita etade e di bellezza:
Sola di tutti Alcina era più bella,
Si come è bello il Sol più d'ogni stella.
(*O. F.,* VII, 9, ll. 1-4; 10, ll. 3-8)

No sooner does Cupid see the Queen of Navarre, than he falls in love with her; the proud god, who has subdued so many hearts, becomes the obedient slave of Marguerite. To her he yields his bow, his arrows, and his flames; and thus accoutered, says Ronsard, she is simply irresistible; neither iron corselets nor bucklers can defend the hearts of those at whom she aims ("Vous desrobez . . . . Acerez . . . . "). Ariosto relates that when King Oberto of Ireland gazed upon the charming face of the weeping Olimpia, his well-tempered mail defended him not at all against the darts of Love (*Orlando Furioso,* XI, 66); it was probably of this passage that Ronsard was thinking.

The *Premier livre des Sonnets pour Helene*[454] (60 pieces) seems to owe nothing to the work of Ariosto. In the *Second*

[454] Hélène de Surgères, on whom cf. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 256, 257.

livre (55 pieces), however, there occur several cases of *rapprochement* with the *Orlando*. Two sonnets show imitation of the same passage in the epic; the first of these is Sonnet XXXVIII, "Une seule vertu, tant soit parfaite et belle," in which Ronsard says to Hélène:

> . . . . La Nature et les Cieux
> Ont versé dessus toy leurs dons plus precieux:
> Puis pour n'en faire plus ont rompu le modelle.
> (Ll. 6-8; L., I, p. 314)

The second is Sonnet LIIII, which begins:

> Lors que le Ciel te fist, il rompit la modelle [455]
> Des Vertus, comme un peintre efface son tableau.
> (Ll. 1, 2; L., I, p. 322)

The source of both these passages is, as M. Laumonier has shown,[456] *Orlando Furioso,* X, 84, ll. 5-7 (the description of Issabella's lover, Zerbino), which Ronsard has imitated on numerous other occasions.[457]

Another sonnet, LIII, celebrates Hélène's "Belle gorge d'albastre, et . . . . petits gazons de laict" (ll. 1-3). Here again we have the influence of the description of Olimpia,[458] *Orlando Furioso,* XI, 68, ll. 3-6.

The *Sixième Edition Collective,* published in 1584,[459] contained 32 new pieces,[460] of which only one shows imitation of the work of Ariosto This is the *Epithalame de Monseigneur de Joyeuse, Admiral de France;*[461] Ronsard says to the bridegroom:

> Les Amours t'éventant à petits branles d'ailes
> T'allumeront le coeur de cent flames nouvelles.
> (L., IV, p. 4)

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[455] Thus in L.

[456] Cf. L., notes, VII, p. 198.

[457] Cf. p. 87, above.

[458] Cf. p. 4, above.

[459] This is the definitive edition, the last one published during the poet's lifetime.

[460] Cf. the *Tableau Chronologique,* pp. 65-68.

[461] Anne, duc de Joyeuse, had married Marguerite de Vaudémont-Lorraine, the sister-in-law of Henri III, on September 24, 1581. The wedding was celebrated with magnificent fetes; cf. L., notes, VII, pp. 403, 404.

He is imitating once again the words which Ariosto had put into the mouth of Orlando on a very different occasion (the scene in which the paladin goes mad for love of Angelica),[462] *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 127, ll. 5 and 6.

Ronsard died on December 27, 1585. Shortly before his death he had dictated, partly to his friend Galland and partly to one of the monks of his priory of Saint-Cosme,[463] nine poems, which were published some months later, in February of 1586, by Claude Binet. The latter gave them the title of *Les Derniers vers de P. de Ronsard;* they consist of six sonnets, two short lyric pieces, and an epitaph intended by the poet for his own tomb. The tone of these poems is strikingly different from that of all the verses that preceded them; all joy of life, all stirring of ambition has given way to weariness, suffering, and a great craving for release. Sleeplessness torments the dying man; in one of the sonnets, " Donne moy tes presens en ces jours que la Brume," he envies the fortunate animals that sleep throughout the winter months:

> Heureux, cent fois heureux, animaux qui dormez
> Demy an en voz trous, soubs la terre enfermez . . . .
> (Ll. 9, 10; L., VI, p. 7)

He was evidently thinking of the words of Bradamante, who exclaims, when the absence of Ruggiero makes her days a burden to her:

> O felice animai ch'un sonno forte
> Sei mesi tien senza mai gli occhi aprire![464]
> (*O. F.,* XXXIII, 64, ll. 1, 2)

What was Ronsard's judgment of the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori,* and of what did their influence on his work consist? The poet himself tells us nothing; towards the close of his life,

[462] Cf. p. 35, above.

[463] Cf. Binet's preface to the *Derniers vers* (pub. Paris, G. Buon). Cf. also Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 267, 268.

[464] This passage is from one of the laments of Bradamante (on which see p. xvi, above), that of *Orlando Furioso,* XXXIII, 62-64; Ronsard had imitated it years before, in the *Discours à M. de Foix* (1564); cf. p. 71 of this thesis.

he wrote to Bartholomeo Del-Bene,[465] an Italian poet living in France, an elegy[466] in which he declares that since Petrarch, Italy has produced no poets worthy of mention ("Nul apres . . . . Mais la Muse . . . . ").

This is astonishing, and might give us an entirely false opinion of Ronsard's attitude towards the work of Ariosto, if we had not at hand the irrefutable evidence of his numerous imitations of it to set us right. As it is, we know that Ronsard admired Ariosto's poetry, that he made frequent references, in his poems, to the characters in the *Orlando,* and that he borrowed heavily from it and from the *Opere Minori;* what was it that he took from them?

Not his verse-forms; Ronsard never strives to reproduce, as does Baïf,[467] the rhyme and meter of Ariosto's elegies and *capitoli,* or the *ottava rima* of the *Orlando.* On the other hand, he is not, as was Du Bellay, congenial in spirit to the Italian.[468] Ariosto was a modest man, who, when he spoke of his own work at all, usually mentioned it deprecatingly, and who only sought favors from the great when his own necessities, or those of his large flock of dependents, absolutely forced him to do so;[469] Ronsard had that unfailing conviction of his own importance which is called consciousness of greatness in men of his genius, and, in less gifted persons, conceit. In fertility of imagination he is by no means Ariosto's equal, as is evidenced by the monotonous *Franciade;* neither does he possess those powers of keen psychological observation which make Ludovico almost unique among the writers of his period; indeed, it is doubtful if Ronsard much appreciated this latter quality in the work of Ariosto. The two poets were perhaps most akin in their eroticism; both frankly enjoyed the voluptuous; but even in this point some difference is observable between them.

[465] Reader to Henry III, and a member of the *Académie du Palais;* cf. L., notes, VIII, p. 7.

[466] "Del-Bene second Cygne apres le Florentin."

[467] Cf. pp. 126, 128, below.

[468] Cf. p. 115, below.

[469] Upon the death of his father, Ariosto had to assume the care of nine younger brothers and sisters; he himself says that but for this, he would never have sought the patronage of the Estensi. Cf. Satire IV, "Poi che, Annibale, intendere vuoi come"; also Satire VI, "Pistofilo, tu scrivi che se appresso."

With Ariosto passion was an affair of the heart; his affection for Alessandra Benucci-Strozzi was no less constant than ardent, and lasted from an early stage of their acquaintance until his death, twenty years later.[470] Ronsard is at once colder and more sensual. M. Laumonier says of him, that the multiplicity and simultaneousness of his love-affairs is a convincing proof of their shallowness; and that the chaste effusions and poignant lamentations found in his poems seem to have come more often from his head than from his heart.[471]

In my opinion, Ronsard's only interest in the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori* was that of a connaisseur of striking phrases, an excellent judge of dramatically effective scenes. With his delicate sense of good style, his great art in the handling of words, he knew, almost infallibly, good material when he found it; and once found, he used it over and over again.

[470] He tells us that he began to love her in 1513 (cf. Canzone I, "Non so s'io potrò ben chiudere in rima." He died in 1533.

[471] Cf. his *Ronsard poète lyrique*, pp. 556-558.

CHAPTER TWO

JOACHIM DU BELLAY [1]

Unlike Ronsard, Joachim Du Bellay was perfectly frank in proclaiming himself an admirer and imitator of the work of Ariosto. In the *Défense et illustration de la langue françoise* he addresses the "poëte futur" as follows (II, 5, "Du long poème françois"):

"Si tu as quelquefois pitié de ton pauvre langage, si tu daignes de l'enrichir de tes thresors ce sera toy veritablement qui luy feras hausser la teste, et d'un brave sourcil s'egaler aux superbes langues grecque et latine, comme a fait de nostre temps en son vulgaire un Arioste italien, que j'oseroy' (n'estoit la saincteté des vieux poëmes) comparer à un Homere et Virgile. Comme luy doncques, qui a bien voulu emprunter de nostre langue les noms et l'histoire de son poëme, choisy-moi quelqu'un de ces beaux vieux romans françois comme un Lancelot, un Tristan, ou autres: et en fay renaistre au monde une admirable Iliade et laborieuse Enéide." [2]

I have followed the chronology of M. Chamard,[3] and separated the poems of Du Bellay into three groups: work of his first period, from 1549 to 1554, the year he departed for Rome; work inspired by and composed during his sojourn there (the *Antiquitez* and *Regrets,* which mark the change to his second more personal manner); and poems written after the *Regrets,* some resembling them in style, some showing a return to the conventionality of the first period.

In his earlier works, and especially in the *Olive,* Du Bellay is much given to imitating Ariosto's love sonnets. There are twenty-seven of these; Du Bellay takes material from eight, numbers 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 17 and 22; no other poet in his group taxed the love sonnets so heavily.

[1] The edition of Du Bellay's poems used is the *Œuvres Poétiques,* ed. by Henri Chamard for the Société des textes français modernes (5 vols.), Paris, Cornély, 1908-1912 (I-III) and Hachette, 1919 (IV, V); all page numbers given refer to this edition.

[2] Cf. the *Œuvres complètes de Joachim Du Bellay,* ed. by Léon Séché (3 vols.), Paris, Revue de la Renaissance, 1903-1910, I, p. 31.

[3] As given in his edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques.*

The *Regrets* were largely inspired by Ariosto's *Satires,* but this influence is a matter of feeling rather than of form, and is therefore very difficult to trace; only one case of definite and unmistakable *rapprochement* has ever been noted.[4]

The chief medium of Ariosto's influence upon Du Bellay was the *Orlando Furioso.* Six of Du Bellay's poems are wholly or partially based on the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero. In four he has used the allegory of swans and crows, and in four similes taken from the scene in which Orlando goes mad. Twice he borrows material from the description of Alcina, twice from Bradamante's lament of Canto XLV, and once from each of the two laments of Canto XXXII.[5] He also refers frequently to the various characters in the epic. He does not imitate the verse-forms used by Ariosto.

Before commencing a detailed discussion of those of Du Bellay's poems in which imitation of Ariosto's work appears, I should like to say a few words in regard to the *Olive.* When first published, in 1549, it comprised only fifty sonnets; in the second edition (1550) this number is increased to a hundred and fifteen. Since these editions were published within such a short time of each other, and since both contain sonnets based on the poems of Ariosto, I have used the second edition, which is the one reproduced by M. Chamard in his edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques.*

L'Olive. Eleven sonnets in the *Olive* suite which show traces of Ariosto's influence (Nos. 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 18, 30, 33, 78, 93, 99) have already been discovered by M. Chamard,[6] and ten (25, 29, 31, 35, 37, 39, 42, 47, 71, 97) by M. Vianey;[7] to these I can add only two, Sonnets 6 and 28. The detailed examination of this list, given below, will show that in ten cases the influence

[4] In Sonnet 150; cf. p. 110, below.

[5] Cf. p. xvi, above.

[6] Cf. his edition of the *Œuvres Poetiques* of Joachim Du Bellay; Paris, 1908-1919; also his *Joachim Du Bellay,* Lille, 1900, p. 176.

[7] "Les Sources italiennes de l'Olive" (*Annales internationales d'histoire*) Paris, A. Colin, 1901, p. 73, etc. Also: "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bull. It.* (1901), I, 295.

is that of Ariosto's minor works, in eleven that of his *Orlando,* and in four, of both; in other words, Du Bellay, when he wrote the *Olive,* drew just as much from the lyrics as from the epic.

The tercets of Sonnet 5 (*Olive*) are taken from the last six lines of Ariosto's Second Sonnet, " Mal si compensa, ahi lasso! un breve sguardo," in which the poet complains that Love, like a stupid, blind boy, has caught only him, and let his mistress escape, although she would have been a much more glorious conquest.

The first eight lines of Sonnet 6 of the *Olive* express, in a somewhat less exaggerated form, the idea of Ariosto's tenth madrigale " Occhi, non vi accorgete ": that the face of the poet's mistress is a radiant sun of beauty; woe to him who dares regard it too long and too closely, for he will be blinded by its light.

Sonnet 7 is a close imitation, almost a translation, of the famous and much-admired Twenty-second Sonnet, " Madonna, sete bella, e bella tanto." Pontus de Tyard, Ronsard, and Baïf all imitated the Twenty-second Sonnet;[8] but to my mind Du Bellay's adaptation is the most pleasing of the four, and the most nearly equal in tone to their common model.[9] It should be added, that ll. 5-6 of Du Bellay's sonnet are probably inspired by *O. F.,* VII, 29, and by Ariosto's Sixth Elegy, ll. 25-27; cf. pp. 4, 14, 29, above.

Sonnet 8 follows Ariosto's Seventh Sonnet, " Com' esser può che degnamente lodi " just as closely as its predecessor followed the Twenty-second Sonnet. Both poets put the same plaintive question: How can I fittingly celebrate my lady's beauty, when even to describe her wonderful hair is quite beyond my powers? Would that I had drunk of the sacred fountain (" That I had eaten of the laurel," says Ariosto), I should then die singing, like the swan, where now I perish in silence.

Sonnet 10 is evidently based on the Sixth Sonnet of Ariosto;[10] like the Italian, Du Bellay proclaims that he is imprisoned in the meshes of his lady's hair, and wounded by the arrows shot from her eyes; but that his bondage is so pleasant, and his malady so sweet, that he desires neither to be freed nor healed.

[8] Cf. pp. 27, 125, 141 of this thesis.

[9] For a discussion of the sonnets of Ronsard, Du Bellay and Baïf, cf. M. Vianey's *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle,* pp. 137-140.

[10] For Ronsard's imitation of this sonnet, see p. 21.

As M. Chamard remarks, Du Bellay has added a third image, flame, to those of the net and darts. He has also done away with Ariosto's final tercet, for which he substitutes an elaboration of the three lines preceding it. This practice of imitating a sonnet, and then changing the last lines so as to give a different conclusion, is frequent among the Pléiadistes; de Magny is especially prone to it.

Sonnet 11 is an imitation of Ariosto's Sonnet 17, but with a difference. Ariosto represents himself, in his poem, as standing on the further bank of the Po; the sky is stormy, the waters wild; he is afraid to attempt a crossing. Suddenly from the other bank shine the bright eyes of his lady, and he hears her words: "Che Leandro potean farmi quel giorno"; at once, at the sound of her voice, the storm-clouds pass away, and the waters are still; her beauty has power to rule the elements. With Du Bellay the allegory is made less subtle and more trite; his Olive's face is the sun, obscured by a cloud of anger, which raises waves upon the sea of love, on which the poet is sailing; he calls upon Venus for help, and from behind the cloud shine forth the stars that are his lady's eyes.[11] Lines 1-4 of the two poems are, however, very similar.

In Sonnet 18, as in the Twelfth Sonnet of Ariosto, on which it is based, the poet endeavors to demonstrate that he prizes the beauty of his lady's mind much more than her physical charms; as usual, he follows his model more closely in his first four lines than in the rest of the poem. Ariosto devotes his second quatrain and first tercet to praise of Madonna's "ingegno divino," etc., but three lines (6-8) suffice Du Bellay to describe these qualities in his *Olive;* he swells the concluding lines of the Italian sonnet, "Che s'in me fosse l'arte alla bontade Della materia igual, ne farei viva Statua che dureria più d'una etade," to fill both his tercets.

Sonnet 25 is an adaptation of a famous passage from the scene of the despair and madness of Orlando (*O. F.*, XXIII, 125-126), which I have already mentioned as being popular with Ronsard.[12]

A well-known passage in the *Orlando* (XXXIII, 60-64) recounts that the grieving Bradamante, who has left her castle to

[11] For Ronsard's imitation of this sonnet, see p. 26, above.
[12] Cf. pp. 35, 65, above.

look for Ruggiero, is comforted one night by a dream in which he appears and assures her of his faithfulness. On awaking she exclaims that since sleep brings her joy and consciousness sorrow, she would like to sleep forever. The stanza in which she repeats this wish (63) is the source of the tercets of Sonnet 28 of the *Olive*.

Sonnet 29 is taken from an even better-known passage in the *Orlando:* XLIV, 61-66, the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero,[13] in which she assures him that come what may she will always be true to him. Du Bellay's sonnet may be called a pastiche of stanzas 61, ll. 1-4; 64, ll. 3-5; 65, and 66.

Sonnet 30 is a translation, phrase for phrase, of Ariosto's Eighth Sonnet, " Ben che'l martìr sia periglioso e grave," which Ronsard later imitated in a sonnet in his *Amours* of 1552; cf. p. *22*, above.

The first quatrain of Sonnet 31 owes its form and phrasing, as M. Chamard points out,[14] to a sonnet of Petrarch's; but the remaining ten lines, and the idea of the whole poem, come from the most famous of the laments of Bradamante, *O. F.,* XLV, 32-39. In this case the imitation is of stanza 38, and of 39, ll. 1-4, in which the absence of the loved one is compared to a dreary winter, unlighted by the distant sun.

The first quatrain and tercets of Sonnet 33 are an imitation of Ariosto's Tenth Sonnet, "Avventuroso carcere soave," whose first line reappears frequently, in various guises, in the poems of the Pléiadistes.[15] It will be remembered that the Tenth Sonnet expresses the lover's delight in the sweet captivity in which his lady holds him, and his confidence that not torments, but embraces, will be his portion.

A second poem of this group to be based on the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero (*O. F.,* XLIV, 61-66) is Sonnet 35. It takes its quatrains from stanza 61, and its tercets from stanzas 62 and 65, ll. 3-4.

Sonnet 37 has been inspired by one of the earlier complaints of Bradamante, that of XXXII, 18-25. Bradamante is at her father's castle, awaiting Ruggiero, who has promised to join her

[13] On this passage cf. pp. xvi, 28, 120, 126 of this thesis.

[14] Cf. his edition of the poems of Du Bellay, I, p. 53, note 1.

[15] Cf. p. 123.

there on a certain day. He does not come; and after having waited for twenty days beyond the time set she concludes that he is untrue to her and gives way to a real fit of despair, beating her breast, tearing her hair, and accusing as the authors of her woe Love, and her lover.

M. Vianey gives as the sources of Du Bellay's sonnet stanzas 20 and 21 of this passage;[16] M. Chamard states that the tercets are taken from stanza 21, but makes no mention of the quatrains.[17] I can find no traces of stanza 20 in the poem; the source of the tercets is that given by M. Chamard; and as sources for the quatrains I would suggest stanzas 18 and 19 of this same passage.

Sonnet 39 is another poem inspired by the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero, *O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66. Its first four lines are taken from stanza 63, ll. 3-4, and from stanza 61, ll. 1, 2, and 8; the second quatrain comes from stanza 63, ll. 4-8; the tercets are a translation of 64, ll. 3-8.

Sonnet 42 is a translation, with slight amplifications, of *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 127 (part of the scene in which Orlando goes mad). Ronsard frequently imitated this passage; cf. pp. 37, 42, 76, 90, above.

Bradamante's wish to sleep eternally, in order to escape from her sorrows (*O. F.*, XXXIII, 63-64), is repeated again[18] by Du Bellay in Sonnet 47, which is entirely based on these two stanzas.

Sonnet 71, which purports to be a portrait of Olive, owes its similes to the much imitated description of Alcina (*O. F.*, VII, 10-16). When Du Bellay describes his lady's golden hair (ll. 1-2), her eyes (l. 3), her mouth (ll. 5-7), and her bosom (ll. 8-11) he is imitating stanzas 11, 12, 13, and 14 of the passage in the *Orlando.* Du Bellay then exclaims that these are the least of his lady's beauties (l. 13). Ariosto had remarked, anent those of Alcina's charms of which modesty demanded the concealment, that it was easy to judge the perfection of what was not displayed, by the perfection of what was (14, ll. 7-8); and M. Vianey queries[19] thus Du Bellay's adaptation of these

[16] Cf. *L'Arioste et la Pléiade,* p. 296, note 1.
[17] Cf. *op. cit.*, I, 58, note 1.
[18] Cf. p. 97, above.
[19] *Bul. It.*, I (1901), 299.

lines: "Veut-il (Du Bellay) dire, lui aussi, par un sous-entendu égrillard, que les beautés les plus belles sont celles qu'on ne voit pas, ou veut-il dire que ce sont les beautés de l'esprit? Le caractère du recueil autorise plutôt cette seconde interprétation."

A line in Sonnet 78 comes from this same passage:

> Soit qu'elle parle ou danse ou bâle ou chante
> (l. 12)
> O parli, o rida, o canti, o passo mova.
> (VII, 16, l. 2)

The influence of the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero (*O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66) appears again [20] in Sonnet 93, whose eleventh line, "Ou hault ou bas la Fortune me pousse" is evidently a recollection of stanza 61, l. 4.

Sonnet 97 was evidently inspired by two stanzas, 42 and 43, in the first canto of the *Orlando*. The simile employed by Ariosto, and which becomes a metaphor in the poem of Du Bellay, is this: The virgin is like a rose growing sheltered in a garden, safe from all destroying creatures, and prized for her beauty by gods and men. But this virgin flower, once plucked, loses all its charms, and withers away, despised by everyone. Ariosto himself had taken this conceit from Catullus, *Carm.* 62, "Ut flos in saeptis secretus nascitur hortis," etc.; but he had changed the "flower" of Catullus into a rose, and had amplified his images by adding details of his own; in both these things Du Bellay follows Ariosto.

Sonnet 99, which is a complaint against the tormenter, Jealousy, takes its last tercet from some lines in the *Orlando,* XXXI, 5, ll. 1-3. Here Ariosto, preparatory to continuing his recital of the troubled loves of Bradamante and her Ruggiero, moralizes on this same subject of jealousy, which is, he says, a wound that can be cured neither by salves nor drugs, incantations or charms.

Poems Written Between 1449-1554. In addition to the *Anterotique de la Vieille et de la Jeune Amye,* published in 1549 with the *Olive,* Du Bellay brought out, between this year

[20] Cf. pp. 98, 99, above.

and 1553, four volumes of poetry which show the influence of Ariosto. These are: the *Recueil de Poesie,* 1549; the *Musagnoeomachie* and five odes, 1550; *Œuvres de l'invention de l'autheur* (with the *Quatriesme livre de l'Eneide de Vergile traduict en vers francoys*), 1552; and the second *Recueil de Poesie,* 1553. His influence is also apparent in three poems written by Du Bellay about this time, but not published until after the poet's death: the *Satyre de Maistre Pierre du Cuignet sur la Petromachie de l'Université de Paris* (about 1552), the *Ode sur la Naissance du petit Duc de Beaumont, Fils de Monseigneur de Vandosme Roy de Navarre* (1553), and the *Epitaphe de Madame l'Abesse de Caen, Soeur de Monsieur le Cardinal de Chastillon* (1554).[21]

M. Chamard has pointed out imitations of the poems of Ariosto in the *Anterotique,* in one of the pieces of the *Recueil* of 1549 (*Ode à la Royne*), in the *Musagnoeomachie* and two of the odes which follow it (*Aux Dames Angevines: Contre les Envieux Poetes*) and in the first of the *Œuvres de l'invention de l'autheur,* the *Complainte du Desesperé.*[22]

I have found additional borrowed material in three more of the poems of the *Recueil* of 1549 (odes: *A Monseigneur Reverendiss. Cardinal de Chastillon,* and *A Madame la Contesse de Tonnerre,* and in a *Chant Triumphal sur le Voyage de Boulongne*); in the *Musagnoeomachie, Contre les Envieux Poetes,* the *Ode aux Dames Angevines,* and the *Complainte du Desesperé;* in a song in the second *Recueil* (On peult feindre par le cizeau") ; and in the three posthumous poems.

Of these thirteen poems, only two[23] show imitation of the lyrics. The rest are all modeled on passages in the *Orlando,* which is not so very surprising when we consider how much wider a range of topics the epic covered. The allegory of the swans and crows, or poets and flatterers, is used three times; Bradamante's letter to Ruggiero, and her lament of Canto XXXII, each appear once, in the same poem; there is one occurrence of a simile from the passage which describes Roland's

[21] For the dates assigned to these poems cf. Chamard's edition of the *Œuvres Poetiques* of Du Bellay, V. V, pp. 237, 283, 338.

[22] Cf. the foot-notes to these poems in his edition of the *Œuvres Poetiques* of Du Bellay.

[23] The *Anterotique* (1549) and the *Epitaphe de l'Abesse de Caen* (1554) the two most widely separated in date.

going mad.[24] Perhaps the most interesting feature of this group is the fact that Du Bellay has twice [25] imitated those stanzas of the *Orlando* [26] in which Ariosto, who was, in his own way, something of a feminist, had celebrated the achievements of women.

Taking up in detail the list of imitations, we come first to the *Anterotique.* Lines 109-113 of this poem are an amplification of the third and fourth lines of Ariosto's Sonnet 6: "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," which Du Bellay had already laid under contribution for the *Olive.*[27]

First to be considered in the *Recueil de Poesie* (1549) is a *Chant Triumphal sur le Voyage de Boulongne.* In August of 1549, says M. Chamard,[28] Henri II set out to conquer Boulogne. He had captured several of the out-lying forts, and seemed in a fair way to take the town, when a terrific rain-storm, which lasted two days and two nights, forced him to cease operations. The *Chant* was evidently written before the campaign opened, for Du Bellay prophesies Henri's success, and says that the French host, marching against the enemy, will resemble the waves of the sea, or long swells of grain, swayed by the wind (ll. 81-90). This is imitated from a passage in the *Orlando Furioso,* XVI, 68, ll. 1-6, which describes the shifting back and forth of two armies over a battle-field. Ronsard has made frequent use of this simile.[29] (Cf. also Homer, *Iliad,* II, 144-149, and, according to M. Chamard,[30] Virgil, *Georgics,* III, 237-239).

Later the poet addresses the wife and sister of the king; they must, he says, have entertained many anxious fears for Henri's safety; but now all danger is past, Henri returns victorious and it is time for rejoicing: let them cease to grieve, and revive like rain-soaked flowers beneath a friendly Sun (ll. 143-148). When Issabella, one of the heroines of the *Orlando,* is brought sud-

[24] See p. xvi, above.

[25] In the Odes to the *Contesse de Tonnerre,* and to the *Dames Angevines.* In an interesting foot-note to this latter poem (Vol. IV, p. 38 of his ed. of Du Bellay) M. Chamard connects Du Bellay's championship of the ladies with the "querelle des femmes" which was still raging when these pieces were written.

[26] Cf. Canto XX, 1-3; Canto XXXVII, 1-23.

[27] Cf. p. 96, above.

[28] III, p. 75, note 1.

[29] See pp. 13, 19, 80 of this thesis.

[30] III, p. 79, note 4.

denly face to face with her lover, whom she has mourned as dead, joy and relief revive her beauty in the same way. Cf. *O. F.*, XXIII, 67, ll. 4-8.[31]

Next is the ode *A la Royne* (*Recueil* of 1549). Into this poem Du Bellay has introduced the allegory of the swans and crows, of which, since it is one of the most frequently imitated passages in the *Orlando,* I shall give a brief description: It occurs in Canto XXXV, stanzas 11-23: Astolpho, guided by Saint John, is visiting the wonders of the Heaven of the Moon,[32] when they come upon a man busily engaged in collecting slips of metal, on which are engraved the names of human beings whose lives the Fates have just finished spinning. This person is old, but very nimble; no sooner does he fill his garment with a load of names, than he runs with them to a nearby river, and throws them in. The majority sink at once; some are caught as they fall by a flock of crows, magpies and such greedy fowls, which soon find the burden too heavy, and drop them again; but a few names are saved by two lovely swans, that, swimming with them to the shore, bear them to a temple sacred to Immortality. Upon Astolpho's asking the meaning of all this, he is told by the Apostle that the old man is Time; the river in which he submerges the names of men is Lethe, the stream of forgetfulness, from whose waters the efforts of the ignoble birds, that is of flatterers and hack-writers, are impotent to save them; only the great poets, the real swans of song, can confer upon the subjects of their verses enduring fame. Two stanzas of Du Bellay's ode were evidently inspired by this fable ("De Phebus . . . . Sur la rive . . . . ").

After Saint John has explained to Astolpho what the swans represent, he launches into a wordy discourse on poets (22-29) of whom, it appears, he is especially fond.[33] Wise indeed, says he, is the prince who protects them! Blind and witless he who ignores their power! They can not only bring forth a dead man, living, from the tomb, but can moreover determine the repute in which he shall be held by posterity; many a legendary hero is such in the eyes of later generations merely because he had some

[31] Also imitated by Ronsard; see p. 14 of this thesis.

[32] Cf. p. 30 of this thesis.

[33] "Because" Ariosto makes him say "I myself was an author on Earth" (XXXV, 28).

great poet to swell his praises, while his perhaps more truly heroic contemporaries, not being so fortunately provided, have gone unsung to oblivion. The source of this passage is of course Horace's ode, *Ad M. Lollium* (*Carm.*, IV, ix). Du Bellay in his ode to the Cardinal de Chastillon (*Recueil* of 1549) has mingled material from both the *Ad Lollium* and the epic; thus the stanza "Heureux qui scait . . . . " is imitated from *O. F.*, XXXV, 23 and 24; the next stanza, "Maint Prince, ... ," mentions Charlemagne, Orlando, and Rinaldo, but takes its movement from the *Ad Lollium,* ll. 25-28. A following stanza, "Maints vivans . . . . ," comes, as M. Chamard has remarked (III, 106), from the same lines in the *Ad Lollium.*

In the ode to the Contesse de Tonnerre (III, 145-148) Du Bellay's praise of famous women is modeled on the first three stanzas of Canto XX, and on the first, second, fifth, sixth and seventh stanzas of canto XXXVII, of the *Orlando Furioso.* Here, again, he has added to his enumeration of the heroines of antiquity the names of Bradamante and Marfisa; one wonders whether he did not do this as a sort of acknowledgment of indebtedness to the Italian, with whose epic most of his readers must have been well acquainted.

M. Chamard has pointed out that lines 21-24 of the *Musagnoeomachie* are a reference to the famous Orc,[34] the carnivorous sea-monster of the *Orlando Furioso,* VIII, 10, and XI, 34-35.[35] To this evidence of Ariosto's influence I can add lines 61-96 of the same poem, which describe the Beast of Ignorance;[36] here Du Bellay has imitated, in part, the Beast of the Apoca-

[34] Pio Rajna remarks in his *Fonti dell' Orlando Furioso* (Florence, Sansoni, 1900), p. 198, that Ariosto probably took the monster's name from an incident in the *Orlando Innamorato* of Boiardo, III, ii, 27. Originally it comes from the Latin *Orcus,* the abode of the dead, the ruler of the dead (syn. with Pluto), or, poetically, death itself. There may also have been in Ariosto's mind a recollection of the *Orcynus,* a large fish of the tunny species, mentioned by Pliny, *Naturalis Historia,* XXXII, 149.

[35] Compare with this Ovid's description of the sea-monster slain by Perseus, *Met.*, IV, 688-690.

[36] By which Du Bellay symbolizes the adherents of medievalism and scholasticism, who were opposing humanism and the "new learning" of the Renaissance. Cf. on this subject Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique,* p. 19, note 6, and 64, note 3.

lypse,[37] but chiefly the Beast of Avarice depicted in the *Orlando Furioso,* XXVI, 31-42.

Both the Beast of Du Bellay and that of Ariosto have ass's ears, both have triumphed over kings, commoners and prelates; Du Bellay's Beast bears "la clef . . . . Du loyer et de la peine, Des miserables humains," while Ariosto's "le chiavi s'arroghi d'avere Del cielo e de l'abisso in suo potere"; and if Ariosto's monster is worse than "Quel Fiton che per carte e per inchiostro S'ode che fu sì orribile e stupendo," Du Bellay can say of his "Vous qui les fables contez, ne decrivez plus . . . . le serpent Lernean" and a crowd of other mythological terrors, all "moins contrefaictz que ce monstre, qui est pere Des plus horribles forfaictz."

If, finally, in lines 121-124, Du Bellay praises Francis I of France as being earliest to attack the pest, he is only following Ariosto, who in a somewhat longer and more flowery passage (XXVI, 43-46) has done the same thing.

In the ode *Aux Dames Angevines,* lines 31-42 and 49-60, the poet has again, as M. Chamard remarks,[38] made use of the allegory of swans and crows (*O. F.,* XXXV, 11-23); and moreover, I find that he has incorporated it into a laudation of women very evidently inspired by the first, second, sixth and seventh stanzas of Canto XXXVII, which I have already mentioned,[39] and by two other stanzas of this same canto, 14 and 23.

In the ode *Contre les Envieux Poetes* the adherents of the old school of poetry are likened to a village mastiff, who, caught in the jaws of a bull-dog (the new school) still struggles, furiously but vainly, to save itself (ll. 121-132). This is, I believe, an amplification of a passage in the last canto of the *Orlando Furioso.* It will be remembered that the epic ends with a duel between Ruggiero, its hero, and Rodomonte, the brutal king of Sarza. The former is victorious; he throws the Pagan to the ground and stabs him, while Rodomonte struggles like a mastiff throttled by a hunting dog (*O. F.,* XLVI, 138, ll. 1-6). Ronsard also imitated this simile; cf. p. 83, above.

[37] Du Bellay's attribution to the Beast of a mouth like a lion's and of feet like those of a bear, is taken from *Apocalypse,* XIII, 2; and Ariosto himself had probably been inspired by this same chapter.

[38] IV, 39, notes 1 and 2.

[39] Cf. p. 104, above.

As M. Chamard points out,[40] the allegory of swans and crows [41] appears again in *Contre les Envieux Poetes,* ll. 181-192.

As the source of lines 1-6 of the *Complainte du Desesperé* M. Chamard quotes [42] the *Orlando Furioso,* III, 1; [43] the similarity here is one of movement, and not of theme; Ariosto wishes for greater powers of eloquence, that he may fittingly celebrate the glorious lineage of the Estensi; and Du Bellay seeks words in which to express his sorrows.

In addition, I find that lines 34-39 of the *Complainte* are imitated from *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII,[44] 113, which describes Orlando's mute, tearless grief at the loss of Angelica; grief so bitter that it can hardly find vent, but remains pent up within him, like water in a narrow-necked vase, which, when the vessel is inverted, can only issue forth drop by drop.[45]

Stanzas 10-15 of the song "On peult feindre par le cizeau" are a translation of stanzas 61, 66, 65, 64, and 63 of the Letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero, *O. F.,* XLIV.[46]

Stanza 17 of this same song is evidently based on a passage in one of the laments of Bradamante,[47] XXXII, 37-43; in this case the influence is that of stanza 40, ll. 1-2 and 5-6, in which she accuses her lover of being more cruel to her than to his worst enemy.

A very different character in the *Orlando* inspired Du Bellay, when he wrote the *Satyre de Maistre Pierre du Cuignet,* to declare that Maistre Pierre's body, if dismembered, would reunite itself like quick-silver (ll. 273-278). This was a characteristic of the dreadful giant Orrilo, described in *O. F.,* XV, 69, 70.

[40] VI, 51, note 1.

[41] *O. F.,* XXXV, 11-23. This is the third time Du Bellay has imitated it; cf. pp. 103, 105 of this thesis.

[42] *Op. cit.,* IV, 87, note 2, in which M. Chamard credits Etienne Pasquier, (*Recherches de la France,* VII, 8 [ed. Amsterdam, Trévoux], 1723, t. I, col. 715-716), with the original discovery of this parallel.

[43] Also imitated by Ronsard; see p. 19 of this thesis.

[44] The canto which describes Orlando's going mad; cf. p. 35 of this thesis.

[45] A note in the Campari edition of the *Orlando* (Milan, Hoepli, 1915, p. 414) points out that C. Pliny uses this simile of the narrow-necked vase or amphora in one of his *Epistles* (L. IV, 30). But Pliny applies it to a spring on the shore of Lake Como, not to an emotional state; Ariosto has amplified the simile and given it spiritual significance.

[46] Cf. p. 100 of this thesis.

[47] Cf. p. xvi of this thesis.

The *Ode sur la Naissance du petit Duc de Beaumont* contains three lines, 18, 19, and 20, which are similar to a couplet in the *Orlando,* XXXI, 33, ll. 7, 8:

Le Lyon n'engendre pas [48]
Le Cerf, qui a le coeur bas
Ni l'Aigle la Colombelle.
(V, 283-284)

Che la damma non genera il leone,
Ne le colombe l'aquila o il falcone.

Various of the pious reflections in the *Epitaphe de Madame l'Abesse de Caen,* resemble those expressed by Ariosto in a somewhat similar composition, the canzone "Alma eletta," written upon the death of Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, whose wife was Filiberta of Savoy, aunt to Francis the First. The passages in which the Duke's spirit exhorts his widow to resignation ("Iniqua a te . . . . Il mio . . . . "; "Di me . . . . Che tu . . . . ") are perhaps the sources of ll. 25-30 and 36 of the *Epitaphe.*

Antiquitez and Regrets. "Les *Antiquitez de Rome,*" says M. Chamard in his *Joachim Du Bellay,*[49] "sont une œuvre de transition"; and in the preface to his edition of the *Antiquitez* he names the attributes which mark the work as transitional: [50] the fact that it remained unfinished (Du Bellay completed only one book of these sonnets); the excessive imitation of learned and classical sources; and, finally, the fluctuations in its metrical form, which is sometimes alexandrine and sometimes decasyllabic.

The works that Du Bellay imitated most in these sonnets were, according to M. Vianey, the Latin classics,[51] but he by no means ceased to borrow from Italian writers. M. Vianey lists as his

[48] M. Chamard, *op. cit.,* V, 284, note 1, gives as the source of this line Horace, *Carm.,* IV, 4, ll. 31, 32: "Neque imbellem feroces Progenerant aquilae Columbam" but as Horace does not give the deer-and-lion simile, I think the influence of Ariosto should be admitted here also.

[49] Lille, 1900, p. 295.

[50] Du Bellay, *Œuvres Poétiques,* Vol. II, Paris, E. Cornély et Cie, 1910 (p. v).

[51] Cf. Joseph Vianey, "Les 'Antiquitez de Rome,' leurs sources latines et italiennes," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 187.

sources the works of Horace, Virgil, Propertius, Ovid, Lucan, Janus Vitalis, Buchanan, Ariosto, Castiglione, and Guidiccioni.

However much he may have taken from the others in this list, Du Bellay's debt to Ariosto, in the *Antiquitez,* is a very small one. Of the forty-seven sonnets comprised in the *Antiquitez* and the *Songe,* only one (14, *Antiquitez*) shows the influence of Ariosto. This has been discovered by M. Vianey, who shows [52] that the first quatrain and lines 11, 12 and 13 of Sonnet 14 are inspired by certain passages in the story of Marganorre, *Orlando Furioso,* XXXVII. Marganorre, the bloody tyrant who hates all women, is so feared by his subjects that none of them dare to hold up their heads in his presence (*O. F.,* XXXVII, 80).

At last come Ruggiero, Bradamante and Marphisa and overthrow Marganorre; at once all those who cringed before him are ready to mock and insult their former ruler; Ariosto likens his state to that of a once mighty river, diminished by summer drought until it can be forded by a woman or a child (XXXVII, 110). For Marganorre, Du Bellay substitutes once-powerful Rome.

M. Vianey suggests that another of Ariosto's river-similes may also have been in Du Bellay's mind when he wrote the quatrain: that which describes the Po overflowing its banks, and carrying with it the sheep and the sheep-fold, the shepherd and his dogs (*O. F.,* XL, 31, ll. 1-6). M. Chamard has pointed out [53] that this same sonnet contains (ll. 9, 10) a reminiscence of Homer, and takes its last line from a line of Sannazaro's. Thus Ariosto, who was the single dominating source in sonnet after sonnet in the *Olive,* cannot exclusively influence one poem in the *Antiquitez.*

Apart from the fact that Du Bellay, when he wrote the *Antiquitez,* was deliberately aping the Latins, it is easy to understand why he found little, in Ariosto, that was suitable for a collection such as this. The love-poems, which had proved so useful when he was writing the Olive, were of course out of the question; the familiar, quizzical note of the Satires he was not yet ready to assume; and all of the most famous passages in the *Orlando* [54] (except the satire of the Heaven of the Moon, which he might have used) were unavailable for the same rea-

[52] *Op. cit.,* pp. 193, 194.

[53] Cf. his edition of the *Antiquitez,* pp. 15, 16.

[54] See p. 103, above.

son as the love-lyrics—the material which they contained was unsuitable. Above all, he wished in the *Antiquitez* to be grave, sedate, formal, to convey the "sentiment des ruines"; it was not in the *Orlando* that such qualities should be sought.

Although the *Regrets* were published in the same year as the *Antiquitez,* it is generally conceded that they are posterior to the shorter collection in date of composition, and that with them the transition to Du Bellay's second manner is accomplished.[55] The change is marked. In place of his former restrained impersonality and studied imitation of hallowed classic models we find informality, a confidential, intimate style, originalty, and free expression of the emotions. M. Chamard says of the sonnets: "Dans les *Regrets,* Du Bellay s'est mis tout entier";[56] and Vianey quotes two passages from them which show that their author deliberately sought originality and was proud of it (cf. *Regrets,* Sonnets 2 and 4).

M. Vianey adds: "Du Bellay ne s'est point vanté à tort: il n'y a rien dans notre poésie du XVI^e^ siècle de plus original que les *Regrets.*"[57]

This desire to relieve his spirit by expressing his unhappiness at being in Rome, where he did not want to be, and his disapproval of the Romans, whose habits shocked him, coupled with this ambition to be original, probably explains why, though the spirit of Ariosto's *Satires* breathes strongly throughout the *Regrets,* only one case of actual imitation of a line in the *Satires* has been discovered in these sonnets.

The *Satires* had been first published in 1534,[58] then re-printed in '35,[58] in '48,[59] '50[59] and '53,[60] the year when Du Bellay came to Rome. M. Vianey remarks that "les *Satires* de l'Arioste étaient à Rome entre toutes les mains quand Joachim Du Bellay

[55] Cf. Chamard, *Joachim Du Bellay,* pp. 295, 368-380; also p. V. of the preface to his edition of the *Antiquitez* and *Regrets.* Cf. also Vianey, "Les 'Antiquitez de Rome,' leurs sources latines et italiennes." *Bul. It.,* I (1901), p. 187; "La Part de l'imitation dans les *Regrets.*" *Bul. It.,* IV (1904), 30, 31.

[56] *Joachim du Bellay,* p. 377.

[57] "La Part de l'imitation dans les *Regrets,*" *Bull, It.,* IV (1904), 30 and 31.

[58] Place of printing not given.

[59] Both by Posini-Bindoni, Venice.

[60] Giolito, Venice.

y écrivit ses *Regrets.*" [61] The discomforts and disappointments about which their author grumbled good-naturedly in his rambling *terza rima* epistles to his relations and friends; his love of peace and studious quiet constantly frustrated by poverty, which drove him here and there at the bidding of various patrons, one a cardinal; [62] his being forced to spend three homesick, unhappy years, in the service of his prince, in a town which he hated; [63] his disgusted contempt for the violent, greedy, intriguing prelates at Rome, amongst whom his own necessities and his patron's affairs sometimes thrust him, and at whom he launched some of his bitterest slurs; [64] his independence, his hatred of servility and parasitism; [65] all this must have appealed especially to Du Bellay, who was suffering from the same griefs, and viewing with indignation the same abuses.

The single instance of imitation, discovered by Pflänzel,[66] and to which I have already referred,[67] occurs in Sonnet 150,[68] a satire on the servility of courtiers. Ariosto, in treating the same subject, had said that a Prince was not to be contradicted, even though he should proclaim that he saw stars in the heavens in daytime, or the Sun at midnight. Whom the Sovereign praises, his followers will praise; and whom he slights, they will scorn (Sat. II, "Io desidero intendere da voi," ll. 10-18).

It is hardly to be expected that Ariosto's love-lyrics would be imitated in a collection of this satirical type, and indeed there seem to be no traces of them in the *Regrets.* The influence of the *Orlando,* though restricted to five sonnets, is more direct than that of the *Satires* and much easier to trace. This was first pointed out by M. Vianey in his two articles, *L'Arioste et la Pléiade,*[69] and *La Part de l'imitation dans les Regrets.*[70] In four

[61] J. Vianey, *Mathurin Regnier,* Paris, Hachette, 1896, p. 41.

[62] Cf. Sat. II "Io desidero intendere da voi," and VII, "Bembo, io vorrei, com è il commun desio," ll. 232-240.

[63] Castelnovo, in the Garfagnana. Cf. Sat. V, "Il vigesmo giorno di Febbrajo."

[64] Cf. Sat. I "Perc' ho molto bisogno, più che voglio"; IV, "Poi chè, Annibale, intendere vuoi come"; VI, "Pistofilo, tu scrivi che se appresso."

[65] Sat. II, "Io desidero intendere da voi," ll. 10-18.

[66] Cf. his *Über die Sonette des Joachim du Bellay,* Sallfeld, Wiedmannsche hofbuchdr. 1898, p. 67.

[67] See p. 109.

[68] Sonnet 142 in the Marty-Laveaux edition, which Pflänzel cites.

[69] *Bull. It.,* I (1901), 315, 316.

[70] *Bull. It.,* IV (1904), 40, 41.

cases,[71] Du Bellay has, not taken over similes from the *Orlando,* but constructed similes of his own based on incidents in the epic. A discussion in detail will make this clearer:

The last six lines of Sonnet 87 allude to the story of Astolpho changed into a myrtle-tree,[72] found in Canto VI, stanzas 23-56. Astolpho, the English knight, having had the misfortune to awaken a passion in the wicked fairy Alcina, is carried off by her to her enchanted kingdom, where he lives happily enough as her favored lover until the fickle fairy, tiring of him, changes him into a myrtle. So Du Bellay, thinking of his ever-denied desire to escape from Rome and return to France, likens himself to the translated Astolpho, grieving on an alien shore.

After Astolpho, there comes also to the domain of Alcina Ruggiero, the young hero who is beloved by Bradamante. He, too, becomes the fairy's lover,[73] and lives with her a life of effeminate idleness, forgetting all his manly virtue; from this existence he is rescued by his constant protectress, the wise enchantress Melissa, who places upon his finger a ring which has the power of undoing all the spells of Alcina, and of making her appear to him as she really is—old, wrinkled and hideous. It is this episode of Canto VII (stanzas 45-74) which Du Bellay recalls in Sonnet 88, ll. 5 and 6. The conclusion of this sonnet is interesting:

> Qui chassera de moy ces Harpyes friandes?
> Qui volera pour moy encor' un coup aux cieux,
> Pour rapporter mon sens et me rendre mes yeux?
> Et qui fera qu'en paix je mange mes viandes?
> (ll. 11-14)

The movement here comes from the invocation to his lady with which Ariosto begins Canto XXXV of the *Orlando* (stanza 1, ll. 1-2), and the whole passage refers to a later adventure performed by Astolpho, in which the English knight rescues a blind king from a plague of Harpies, and then, ascending to the Moon, finds there an herb which will restore the king's sight, and a vial which contains the lost wits of his cousin, poor mad Orlando.[74]

[71] Sonnets 87, 88, 89, 90.

[72] Also used by Ronsard; see p. 56, above.

[73] Also used by Ronsard; see p. 23, above.

[74] Cf. F. Neri, "Nota ai 'Regrets,'" *Athenaeum,* VII, 185 sqq.; and see pp. 30, 59, above.

In Sonnet 89, Du Bellay returns to Ruggiero and Alcina. After the magic ring has freed Ruggiero from the fairy's spells, he is overcome with shame at the thought of his former passion (VII, 65, ll. 4-8). He resolves to make his way to the domain of the virtuous Logistilla, the incarnation of nobility and ideal love;[75] he escapes from Alcina's city, traverses a sandy waste, and comes to a stretch of water which divides the land of Alcina from that of Logistilla.[76] Here a venerable man takes him into a boat; they set sail, and although Alcina's ships pursue them, they arrive safely in the port of Logistilla, and Ruggiero is welcomed at her castle.[77] Du Bellay, repenting of something in his past conduct which he considers as unworthy, applies this allegory to himself (ll. 5-14).

Sonnet 90 shows only one slight trace of the influence of the *Orlando*—in line 8, where Du Bellay refers contemptuously to the Roman courtezans as " ces vielles Alcines."

In Sonnet 129, we find the longest and most direct imitation of the *Orlando* that occurs in the *Regrets*. The poet, free at last to return to France, avails himself, as M. Vianey remarks,[78] of the device by which Ariosto had announced the conclusion of his epic, *O. F.*, XLVI, 1-17;[79] that is, he feigns that he is returning from a long voyage by water, and that, as his ship draws near the home port, he perceives a crowd of friends, whom he names, waiting to greet him.

The Poems after the Regrets. M. Chamard places after the Regrets, in chronological succession, the collection of verse known as the *Jeux Rustiques* (privilege of 1557, printed in 1558); an *Epithalame sur le Mariage de Philibert Emanuel, Duc de Savoye, et Marguerite de France, Duchesse de Berry* (1559); the *Amours*, a group of twenty-nine sonnets composed in 1559 and published nine years later; and five poems to Diane de Poictiers which are usually published as a suite, although the exact dates of their composition are unknown, and were prob-

[75] VII, 75-80.
[76] VIII, 12; X, 35-42.
[77] X, 43-64.
[78] Cf. his *L'Arioste et la Pléiade*, pp. 315, 316.
[79] Previously used by Ronsard; see p. 31.

ably widely separated;[80] in all of these some trace of Ariosto's influence is apparent. In the cases of the *Jeux Rustiques* and of the *Amours,* however, the trace is very slight; of the thirty-eight poems which comprise the *Jeux* only two, and of the twenty-nine *Amours* only one, show imitation of the work of Ariosto.

It is consistently the *Orlando* which Du Bellay imitates in these poems. The influence of the love-lyrics, dwindling after the *Olive,* has now entirely ceased; the satirical note heard in certain poems of the *Jeux Rustiques* (*La Courtisanne Repentie, La Contre-Repentie, La vielle Courtisanne*) comes not from Ariosto, but from other sources.[81]

The passages in the *Orlando* imitated here are Du Bellay's favorites. He has used all of them at least once before, and most of them are the famous episodes from which he, as well as the other Pléiadistes, have borrowed many times over: the description of Alcina, Bradamante's lament of Canto XLV, her letter to Ruggiero, the fable of swans and crows, and the scene in which Roland goes mad.[82]

M. Chamard had already discovered material taken from the *Orlando* in one of the poems in the *Jeux Rustiques,* the *Chant de l'Amour et du Printemps,*[83] and in Sonnet 24 of the *Amours.*[84] I have found additional *rapprochement* with the epic in the *Chant de l'Amour et de l'Hyver* (*Jeux Rustiques;* a companion piece to the song mentioned above), in the *Epithalame,* and in two of the poems to Mme de Poictiers.

The first of these discoveries, the *Chant de l'Amour et du Printemps,* contains (ll. 142-148) a comparison taken from the description of Alcina, VII, 10-16, which Du Bellay has used already in the *Olive.*[85] The passage imitated here is the famous description of Alcina's bosom, *O. F.,* VII, 14, ll. 3-5.

Stanzas 38 and 39 of Bradamante's lament of Canto XLV, in which the loved one is compared to a sun whose presence brings the springtime, and whose absence causes a dreary win-

[80] Cf. for these statements Chamard's edition of the *Œuvres Poetiques* of Du Bellay, Introductions to Vols. II and V.

[81] Cf. *ibid.,* V, 136-181, notes.

[82] Cf. p. xvi of this thesis.

[83] Cf. *op. cit.,* V, pp. 43, 44.

[84] Cf. *op. cit.,* II, p. 249.

[85] Sonnet 71; cf. p. 99, above. For Ronsard's imitations of this line, cf. pp. 3, 24, 39, above.

ter, have also made their appearance in the *Olive,* in Sonnet 31.[86] Their influence is perceptible again in two stanzas of the *Chant de l'Amour et de l'Hyver,* ll. 31-42, though here the similarity is less marked.

Certain verses in the *Epithalame,* " L'aigle dessoubz son aile n'éclost la colombelle: Les animaux peureux Des fiers lyons ne naissent " recall a similar passage in the *Ode Sur la Naissance du petit Duc de Beaumont,* which I had paralleled (p. 107) with two lines in the *Orlando,* XXXI, 33, ll. 7 and 8. As in the case of the passage in the *Ode* (cf. note 48), M. Chamard (V, 215) gives Horace, *Carm.* IV, 4, 29-32, as the source of the lines in the *Epithalame;* but again I suggest that the lion-simile, which does not appear in Horace, may have come from Ariosto.

The simile of the narrow-necked vase or jar, which can hardly discharge its contents drop by drop, used by Ariosto to illustrate Roland's silent, inexpressible grief at the loss of Angelica,[87] and by Du Bellay in the *Complainte du Desesperé,*[88] does service again in a sonnet published with the *Epithalame* as a sort of personal expression of the poet's good-wishes, after the impersonal congratulations of the longer poem. Here it is not sorrow, but excessive pleasure which hinders the speaker from expressing his emotions (ll. 1-8).

The first of the poems to Mme de Poictiers, entitled *A Madame Diane de Poictiers,*[89] contains this stanza, ll. 121-126:

> Les harpyes friandes,
> Les corbeaux affamez
> A piller les viandes
> Sout tous accoustumez,
> Les cygnes bien-chantans
> Frequentent les estangs.
> (V, 372)

Since Du Bellay has been discussing poets and poetry, and since in the succeeding stanza he complacently let it be known that *he* is a " cygne "—" Là, d'une plume franche Sans art apparoissant, ... Peindray le beau Croissant," etc.—it is evident that these lines are inspired by the incident in the *Orlando*

[86] Cf. p. 98, above. For Ronsard's imitations of this passage, cf. pp. 28, 63, 73, above.

[87] XXIII, 113.

[88] Ll. 34-39; see p. 106 of this thesis.

[89] It may, according to M. Chamard, have been composed in 1552 or in 1557. Cf. *op. cit.,* V, 367, note 1.

which seems, after the letter of Bradamante, to be his favorite, the allegory of the swans and crows, or poets and flatterers,[90] XXXV, 11-23.

The third poem of this group, *A Ladicte Dame*, cannot be dated.[91] Certain of its lines (48-60), in which Du Bellay praises the constancy of King Henri's love for Madame Diane, and compares it to a rock, unshaken by the furious assaults of wind and wave, recall the "di vera fede scoglio" simile of Bradamante's letter to Ruggiero (*O. F.*, XLIV, 61), which was such a favorite with all the members of the Pléiade. M. Chamard gives as the source of this image two comparisons in the *Aeneid*, VII, 586-590, and X, 693-696. The images in Virgil, however, have not a spiritual but a concrete application; they describe, in each case, a lone warrior standing firm against a group of combatants; in representing by the simile a faithful heart, Du Bellay is closer to Ariosto than to the Latin.

The twenty-fourth sonnet in the *Amours*, the only one which owes anything to Ariosto, is likewise inspired, as to its tercets, by the letter of Bradamante, in this case by stanzas 65 (first tercet) and 62 (second tercet).

What type of influence do these imitations show Ariosto exercising upon Du Bellay? Not an influence of form and style: the meters of which the Italian was especially fond, *ottava* and *terza rima*, have left no impress on Du Bellay's verses; each of the poets conceived his phrases, constructed his sentences, in an entirely different manner. This last was partly because of the difference between the languages they used, but also because, as a rule, their habits of thought, their methods of observing what went on about them, did not correspond; Du Bellay was an infinitely more serious, more formal person than the Ferrarese: not all his scanning of Ariosto's works could infect him with that graceful bantering lightness, that ever-present sense of the ridiculous, that frank enjoyment of the pleasures of the flesh, which fill with warmth and color the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori*. I do not mean that Ariosto was shallow; nothing

[90] For the lines "Les cygnes . . . ." M. Chamard cites (V, 372, note 2) Virgil, *Aeneid*, XI, 458.

[91] Cf. Chamard, *op cit.*, V, 367, note 1.

could be further from the truth. His emotions were deep, and unselfish; love of his country, loyalty to his friends, and to those he served, but given with an independent spirit; hatred of avarice, of hypocracy, of oppression, of all that is low, mean and vulgar. He had reached that high degree of sophistication which permits a man to be consistently his unaffected self—a state which his French imitators in the sixteenth century were far from attaining—and this explains his great originality of style, the strong personal flavor which he was able to inject into everything he wrote.

It is interesting to observe, that in the poems in which Du Bellay displays a spirit and style most akin to Ariosto's—in the *Regrets*—his aims are originality and sincerity, and his sources of inspiration are affection for his distant friends and country, loyalty to his patron, and indignation at the grasping iniquity of the Papal court. If Du Bellay had had the courage to be as natural and unassuming in his other works as he is in his satires, he could have profited by the example set by Ludovico, and given his sonnets and chansons a vividness not unlike the Italian's. But he had not this daring. To him poetry, except for the conventionally humorous satire, was a serious matter. He felt his responsibilities as a member of the Pléiade, and as a humanist they sat heavily upon him; therefore he hides his features in a conventional mask and declaims, where Ariosto speaks in his own voice and with a natural countenance.

This is why, except in his satires, Du Bellay misses the spirit of Ariosto's poetry and grasps only its substance; why he cannot so much be said to have felt the influence of Ariosto as to have borrowed from him. He takes what he needs where he finds it: this striking simile from the letter of Bradamante, that from the scene in which Roland loses his wits, or from one of the sonnets; and only the reader who knew the borrowed bit in its original setting can feel the incongruity of its new environment. This eclecticism was voluntary; and Du Bellay's own comment on his procedure, given in the first preface to the *Olive*,[92] shows better than any exposition of mine his attitude towards his model: "Vrayment je confesse avoir imité . . . . l'Arioste et d'autres modernes Italiens; pource qu'en l'argument que je traicte, je n'en ay point trouvé de meilleurs."

[92] I, 8.

CHAPTER THREE

JEAN ANTOINE DE BAÏF [1]

That portion of the literary career of Baïf which concerns us falls naturally into three periods: the first experimental years, 1549 to 1552, when the poet had not yet decided to which form of poetry he should devote himself, and which ended when Baïf finally elected in favor of the love-lyric, and brought out his *Méline*.[2]

Then came a middle period, 1552-1555, during which, while still working exclusively in the same genre, he strove to bring about a much-needed improvement in his style, and to this end imitated copiously the Latins and Italians; *Francine* [3] and the *Diverses Amours* [3] were produced at this time, which is the period of Baïf's greatest dependence on Ariosto.

After 1555 he was no longer occupied with love-lyrics. He had become a court-poet, whose themes were royal weddings, victories, births and deaths; requests to his patrons, attacks on his enemies and rivals, and, since he had a reputation for scholarship to maintain, adaptations of Greek myths and legends. In 1573 he brought out his great collection of *Euvres en Rime*. From this time until his death, in 1589, his work, the *Mimes, Etrénes,* etc., shows no signs of Ariosto's influence; we are not, therefore, under the necessity of considering it.

During the period of groping experimentation when he wrote the *Amours de Méline,* Baïf had not yet come to a realization of the rich store of material that lay ready to his hand in the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori;* for this work he drew but lightly from the work of the Italian. Even so, one of the poems in *Méline* contains a long imitation of the description of Alcina, and another is based on a portion of the letter of Bradamante, a proof that Baïf was already familiar with the most striking

[1] The edition used is the *Euvres en Rime de Jean Antoine de Baïf,* ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, Lemerre, 1881-1890, V Vols. All page numbers refer to this edition.

[2] Pub. 1552.

[3] Both written about 1554; *Francine* pub. 1555, *Diverses Amours* 1573 (in *Euvres en Rime*).

portions of the epic. The minor poems he had so far almost entirely neglected.

In *Francine* and the *Diverses Amours* the work of Ariosto is omnipresent. Baïf imitates Sonnet 22, Elegy 6, the letter of Bradamante, the portrait of Alcina, and a simile from the scene of Roland's going mad;[4] he ranges through the *Orlando* and the minor poems, picking up material here, there and everywhere, from the most popular passages, and from those least known; he seems to wish to prove to the world that, if Ariosto is the fashion, he, Baïf, knows the work of the Italian as does no one else. In the *Amour de Francine* the influence of the lyrics equals that of the *Orlando;* in the *Diverses Amours* it considerably surpasses it. Baïf shows a particular fondness for the elegies, though he by no means neglects the sonnets and madrigals; only the satires are entirely ignored. This latter fact is true throughout the work of Baïf; it is possible that the humor of the satires is not of the type which a man like our poet could appreciate; his own satires[5] had an entirely different tone, sharp and rancourous.

The poems written between 1552-1573, and first published in the *Euvres* (*Neuf Livres de Poemes; Jeux; Passetemps*) show almost exclusively the influence of the *Orlando*. This was probably regulated by the subjects of which they treated. If the work of Ariosto is not imitated here to the extent that it was in *Francine* and the *Diverses Amours,* still it must be remembered that much of the space in the *Jeux* and *Passetemps* is taken up by Baïf's dramatic works, which are quite outside the scope of this study.

Considering his productions as a whole, one perceives that as an ardent imitator of the poems of Ariosto, Baïf yielded place to no one save Ronsard. At a conservative estimate, he must have borrowed from the work of the Italian at least forty times.

The material which he selected for imitation was much more varied than that chosen by the Du Bellay. Baïf was inclined to avoid those passages in the writings of Ariosto which had become too well known. He did, however, make exceptions in the cases of the letter of Bradamante, which he imitated three times,

[4] See p. xvi.

[5] Cf. his verses directed at Mastin in the *Neuf Livres de Poemes,* and the epigrams in the *Passetemps.*

twice at considerable length; and of the description of Alcina, his particular favorite; we find four imitations of this latter passage, two long and detailed, and two brief. A simile taken from the scene in which Roland goes mad appears only once. I have found two passages which may have been inspired by incidents in the allegory of the Heaven of the Moon, but their connection with this source is none too definite. The laments of Bradamante, and the description of the Orc, are entirely neglected. Sonnet 22 is imitated once, in full. Elegy 6 he liked well enough to imitate three times, always in poems on Méline.[6]

A consideration, item by item, of the long list of Baïf's sources in Ariosto, which I shall now begin by taking up the *Amours de Méline,* will discover the kind of material that the poet chose, and the manner in which he adapted it to his uses.

The Amours de Méline. The *Amours de Méline* (1552), the first collection of lyrics that Baïf published, contains very little material that can be traced definitely to the work of Ariosto. M. Augé-Chiquet has indicated two sonnets in the first book of the *Amours,* one of which may possibly, and the other of which must certainly, have come from this source.[7] The first sonnet begins thus:

> Durant l'esté, par le jardin grillé,
> Les tendres fleurs sous la nuit blandissante
> Vont redressant leur tresse fanissante
> Qui ja pleuroit son honneur depouillé
> D'Amour ainsi mon esprit travaillé
> . . . . Reprit vigeur.
> (Liv. I, Vol. I, 31)

Stanza 108 of the thirty-second canto of the *Orlando* contains a simile which may have inspired the verses of Baïf: Ariosto likens a pretty woman, whose beauty has been dimmed by fear and anxiety, to a flower drooping in the heat; when her anxiety is relieved, she revives, he says, like the same flower beneath a gentle rain.[8]

[6] See p. xv for these passages.

[7] Cf. his edition of the *Amours de Méline,* Paris, Hachette, 1909, p. 53 and 58.

[8] Also imitated by Ronsard; see p. 59 of this thesis.

It will be observed that the two similes are not entirely identical; the subjects to which they were applied were not the same. A much closer connection with the work of Ariosto is apparent in the second sonnet, "Comme le roc encontre la menace." M. Augé-Chiquet gives as the source of this poem Ariosto's Eighth Elegy,[9] "Qual son, qual sempre fui, tal esser voglio," ll. 34-49. This elegy is, however, identical in content with the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero, *O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66; it has the same theme, movement, and phrasing, and differs from the letter chiefly in being written in *terza*, instead of in *ottava, rima*. Since the passage in the *Orlando* is, and always has been, much more widely known than the Elegy, it is better, I think, to say that the sources of Baïf's sonnet are, for the quatrains, stanza 61, and for the tercets, stanzas 62 and 66.

Previous to the publication of M. Augé-Chiquet's thesis, M. Vianey, in his article on *L'Arioste et la Pléiade*,[10] had pointed out another poem in the *Amours de Méline*, in the composition of which Baïf had evidently had recourse to the *Orlando*. This was the song "Dieu gard le bois," of which the passages "De fin[11] or. . . . Le coeur . . . . "; "Plus bas . . . . En cinq . . . . "; "Et ces . . . . Pieds . . . . " are imitated from the description of Alcina, *O. F.*, VII, 11-15; and the passage "Tairay-je . . . . Le bien . . . . " from the description of Olimpia, *O. F.*, XI, 69. The lines "Deux yeux . . . . Les fleches . . . . " come also from the description of Olimpia, XI, 66, ll. 1, 2, and 4. Moreover, I believe that the beginning and conclusion of this song ("Dieu gard . . . . Le berger . . . . " and "Chanson, si . . . . La Deesse . . . . ") were at least partially inspired by Medoro's blessing on the grotto which had sheltered his amours with Angelica (*Orlando Furioso*, XXIII, 108, 109).

It was, however, M. Augé-Chiquet who discovered[12] that the sonnet "Ne sou ne las, du plaisir ravissant," in which the

[9] The Sixteenth in the edition of the *Opere Minori* used by M. Augé-Chiquet.

[10] *Bul. It.*, I (1901), 298.

[11] This line, and the four which follow it, may also, I think, have been influenced by lines 1-5 of Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro."

[12] Cf. his edition of the *Amours de Méline*, p. 146.

poet begs the goddess of the dawn to delay her coming, in order that he may prolong his rendezvous with Méline, concludes in a manner reminiscent of the Sixth Elegy of Ariosto, "O più che il giorno a me lucida o chiara."[13] "Ha tu[14] metz donq à neant ma requeste?" exclaims Baïf "Jamais courber ne puisses tu la teste, Qu'entre les braz de ton Tithone gris."[15] Ariosto, inspired by the same circumstances, had ended his elegy in a similar strain (ll. 58-64).

This first volume of Baïf's, then, was much less affected by the work of Ariosto than was Du Bellay's earliest collection; and whereas, in the *Olive,* the influence of the lyrics was equal to that of the *Orlando,*[16] in the *Amours de Méline* they are almost entirely neglected.

The Amour de Francine and the Diverses Amours. Baïf published his *Amour de Francine* in 1555, and his *Diverses Amours* in 1573; but since according to M. Augé-Chiquet both collections were composed during the same period (about 1554),[17] I shall, in attempting to determine the extent to which the poet, when he wrote them, was influenced by the work of Ariosto, consider them together.

This influence has become considerably stronger since the publication of the *Amours de Méline.* Whether because he hoped, by imitating the Italian poet, to win popularity like that of Ronsard and Du Bellay; or simply because, in the years since 1552, he had become more familiar with the manifold incidents of the epic, and with the various *Opere Minori,* he certainly introduces a great deal of material from both into the *Amour de Francine* and the *Diverses Amours;* in the first he imitates the work of the Ferrarese about sixteen times, and in the second about ten.[18] Moreover, the lyrics have evidently risen in his estimation to a level with the *Orlando;* he takes just as much

[13] Cf. p. 38 on this Elegy.

[14] Aurora, the Dawn.

[15] Here Baïf has also imitated Ronsard; see p. 31 of this thesis.

[16] See p. 95 of this thesis.

[17] Cf. his *Jean-Antoine de Baïf,* p. 84.

[18] I am forced to make these figures approximate because, in some cases, the imitation is of a very vague and general type.

from them as he does from it. His borrowings are much more varied than were Du Bellay's. He ranges more widely through the *Orlando,* the sonnets and the elegies. This may have been partly caused by a wish to find fresh material, which had not been already used in the *Amours,* the *Olive,* and the *Musagnoeomachie;* the fact that he ignores some of the best-known passages in the epic, such as the allegory of the Heaven of the Moon, and the laments of Bradamante, would incline us to think so. But the letter of Bradamante, which Du Bellay and Ronsard had imitated most frequently, appears twice in the *Amour de Francine*—once as an almost literal translation; a simile from the scene in which Roland goes mad is used once here; the description of Alcina is imitated once, in detail, in the *Amour de Francine,* and once, briefly, in the *Diverses Amours.*

Ariosto's voluptuous Sixth Elegy [19] influences two poems in the *Diverses Amours.* It will be remembered that Du Bellay never imitated this poem, and Baïf's fondness for it serves to illustrate a temperamental difference between the two poets, of which their different treatments of the description of Alcina [20] should already have made us aware.

One of the poems to Francine is a close imitation of that prime favorite with the Pléiadistes, the Twenty-second Sonnet.[21] This is the sonnet "Ma Francine est par tout excellentement belle," whose connection with the work of Ariosto was first pointed out by M. Vianey in his article on *L'Arioste et la Pléiade,* pp. 296-298. In this same article he discusses (p. 299) the ode "Te téray-je, Litelet?" (*Diverses Amours,* Liv. III) and proves that its model was Ariosto's Sixth Elegy.

M. Augé-Chiquet has brought to light one sonnet in the *Amour de Francine* ("C'est fait: il ne faut plus que d'échaper je pense," Liv. II), and three poems in the Diverses Amours, "Penser, qui en feus et en glaces" (Liv. I); "Je m'attendoy que la cuisante ardour" (Liv. II) and "Je ne puis tenir mon aise" (Liv. III) which owe something of their style or content to the work of Ariosto. The rest of the cases of *rapprochement* found in the list given below, I have added.

[19] For this and for the passages in the *Orlando* mentioned above cf. p. xv.

[20] See pp. 99, 120, of this thesis.

[21] See p. xv.

First in order comes a sonnet in the *Amour de Francine,* " Si à dire l'honneur de ta rare beauté," in which Baïf protests his inability to describe even the physical beauties of his lady, let alone the grace of her spirit; as for this last,

> Vrayment et la Romaine, et la Greque faconde
> A peine luy rendroyent son honneur merité
> (I, 96)

The idea and the words are like those of Ariosto's Seventh Sonnet, " Com' esser può che degnamente lodi," ll. 1-8. Ariosto, however, makes no mention of the beauties of his lady's mind.

The next is a sonnet " Ne plorez plus mes yeux: rabaissez vostre bonde " which is modeled on *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 125-127 (a description of Orlando's grief at the loss of the lady whom he loved). Ronsard and Du Bellay had both imitated this passage; cf. pp. 87, 97, 99, above.

In the sonnet " Heureux les pignes chers qui ces cheveux pignerent " there is one line (14: " Dans l'heureuse prison des heureux amoureux ") which recalls the opening line of Ariosto's Tenth Sonnet, "Avventuroso carcere soave."

The sonnet which begins

> Celuy qui tient ses yeux obstinément fichez,
> Contre le clair soleil, sans les tourner arriere,
> En peu d'heure aveuglé sous la grande lumiere,
> D'une éblouisson trouble a les sens empeschez,
> (I, 138)

takes its first four lines from Ariosto's tenth madrigale, " Occhi, non vi accorgete," which has already been mentioned as inspiring part of a sonnet of Du Bellay's (cf. p. 96, above).

The first quatrain of the sonnet " Si j'avoy le pouvoir, comme j'ay le courage " is reminiscent of lines 12-14 of the Twelfth Sonnet of Ariosto, "Altri lodera il viso, altri le chiome "; the poet declares that if his art were as perfect as his lady's beauty, he would give the world an immortal portrait of her charms.

Another which seems to take its opening lines from one of Ariosto's poems is the sonnet " Vostre beauté me vint de telle aise saisir " (ll. 1-4). The movement here is similar to that of ll. 1-8 of Ariosto's Eleventh Sonnet, " Quando prima i crin d'oro e la dolcezza."

The idea expressed in lines 10-14 of the sonnet " Quand je reçoy plus d'heur et de bien de Madame " is the same as that

of the first eleven lines of Sonnet 16: "Madonna, io mi pensai che stare assente"; the poet is miserable away from his lady-love, and when he rejoins her more miserable still, for the thought that he will have to leave her again mars all his expected pleasure.

There is also an analogy of thought between the sonnet "Parfois si fort crantif je suis envers Madame" and the Fifth Madrigale "O se quanto è l'ardore"; both poets deplore the timidity which prevents their revealing their love to the ladies for whom they burn. This of course was a *lieu commun* in the gallant poetry of the period; but the verses:

> Mais c'est bien pour le mieux de taire mon amour:
> Car si je le disois il luy pourroit deplaire:
> Mon coeur en maudiroit le moment et le jour.

have a fairly close connection with these in the madrigal:

> A voi dovrei contarlo;[22]
> Ma per timor, oimè! d'un sdegno, resto,
> Che faccia, s'io ne parlo
> Crescergli il duol sì che l'uccida presto.

The concluding lines of Canzone I, "Non so s'io potrò ben chiudere in rima," mentioned above,[23] liken the lover to a falcon, which, once caught and tamed, becomes so content in servitude that it despises its former liberty; this may perhaps have suggested to Baïf the lines 10-14 of his sonnet "D'attendre si long temps, helas, je suis tant las," in which, speaking with contempt of his lost freedom, he likens himself to a mettlesome horse, that has grown to like the rein and bit.

Ariosto himself uses the horse simile, but with a difference, in his thirteenth sonnet "Deh voless' io quel che voler dovrei!" After complaining bitterly of his mistress's unkindness, he ends with the warning:

> Ben vi vo ricordar ch'ogni cavallo
> Non corre sempre per spronar, e veggio,
> Per pugner troppo, alcun farsi restio,

which may have inspired Baïf's admonition to Francine in the song "O la belle promesse!" ("L'Ecuyer . . . . Il luy . . . . ").

[22] His love.

[23] See p. 93.

Returning to Book II, and the proper chronological order, we come next to the sonnet " Ma Francine est par tout excellentement belle," which is, as I have already said,[24] an imitation of Ariosto's Twenty-second Sonnet, " Madonna, sete bella, e bella tanto."

Compared with the sonnet of Ariosto, or even with Du Bellay's adaptation of it,[25] this is not very well done. If Du Bellay was not able to inject into his description of the beauty of *Olive* the seductive quality with which Ariosto had invested the woman he loved, he had at least been able to conjure up a graceful and attractive figure, and to achieve something like the Italian's lightness of touch; but Baïf, while repeating with more accuracy than Du Bellay the various features mentioned in their model—brow, eyes, manner of laughing, manner of speaking, throat, arms, etc., etc.—leaves the reader unconvinced by his reiterations of " belle " and " excellent," and produces only an effect of dry precision.[26] It is a pity, too, that both Baïf and Du Bellay missed the crowning point of humor which Ariosto achieved by addressing his lady directly.

In the sonnet " C'est fait; il ne faut plus que d'échaper je pense " Baïf returns to that ever-useful passage, the letter of Bradamante, *O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66, from stanza 62, ll. 1-4, of which he takes his second quatrain.[27]

The poem " S'on ne me veut autrement secourir " contains a passage (" Seigneur, alors . . . . Ses grans . . . . ") similar in idea to ll. 5-8 of Ariosto's Nineteenth Sonnet, " Quando muovo le luci a mirar voi." Like Ariosto, Baïf declares that when he considered the rare virtues and graces of his mistress, he felt proud to have placed his affections so worthily.

[24] See p. 122 above.

[25] See p. 96.

[26] This is not the opinion of M. Vianey, who remarks, " Ce qui distingue le sonnet de Baïf, c'est une facilité qui paraîtrait poussée jusqu' à la banalité, si elle ne finissait pas par produire une chaleur véritablement éloquente, à laquelle la répétition des mots elle-même n'est pas étrangère." (Cf. *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe Siècle*, p. 139.)

[27] M. Augé-Chiquet, *op. cit.*, p. 88, gives the source of these lines as Elegy 9; this is evidently a mis-print; he certainly means the Elegy to which he has referred before as 16 (8 in Polideri) of which ll. 11 and 12 are identical in content with stanza 62, ll. 1-4 of the letter of Bradamante. On this point, cf. p. 120 of this thesis.

Ariosto's Alcina had once served Baïf as a model when he painted an idealized picture of Méline;[28] and it is again the enchantress whom he depicts in an *épître* to his friend Brun ("Brun, si tu veux sçavoir comme aujourd'huy je vy"), though the description purports to be that of Francine; compare the lines "Et son beau . . . . D'un tret . . . . "; "Sur sa bouche . . . . Et sur ses doits . . . . "; "Amour me dit[29] . . . . Comme moy . . . . " with the description of Alcina, *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 11-15. A succeeding stanza, "Cette beauté . . . . " resembles lines 1-8 of Ariosto's Eleventh Sonnet, "Quando prima i crin d'oro e la dolcezza," which Baïf had imitated before.[30]

In the poem "Envieux medisant, de qui la bouche est pleine" we find a long passage "Tout tel . . . . Que quelque autre . . . . " which is an almost literal translation of the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero,[31] *Orlando Furioso,* XLIV, 61-66. The influence of the epic is again apparent in the lines "Tu fais . . . . Qui jappe . . . . " in which Baïf likens the *medisant* to a dog, that has not the courage to attack a lion at close quarters, but stands at a distance and barks at it. Ariosto (XVII, 88, 89) uses a similar image, but speaks of a wolf instead of a lion. Baïf has tried in this poem to imitate the meter of the *Orlando* (*ottava rima*); he uses twelve-syllable verse, eight lines to the stanza, but rhymes his verses aa bb, etc., instead of following the ab ab arrangement found in the epic.

The song "Je te disoy, ma Francine" also contains a simile borrowed from the *Orlando.* Baïf compares Francine, fleeing from his kisses, to a shepherdess who comes suddenly upon a snake, and starts away in terror "Et ma . . . . De l'aviser . . . . " In the same way, Ariosto describes Angelica darting away in fright at the apparition of her too-persistant wooer, Rinaldo (*O. F.,* I. 11, ll. 4-8). Cf. also Virgil, *Aeneid,* II, 379-381; Ovid, *Fasti,* II, 341-342; and Homer, *Iliad,* III, 33-37; in these passages, however, the person frightened by the serpent is a male traveler, not a shepherdess.

The first evidence of the influence of Ariosto's work on the *Diverses Amours* occurs in the poem "Helas mon Dieu! las,

[28] Cf. p. 120, above.
[29] Cf. on these lines p. 99, above.
[30] Cf. p. 123, above.
[31] Cf. p. xvi, above.

que j'ay grand vouloir." Baïf describes the folly of love, from which he cannot free himself, in a long passage "Amour est comme . . . . Que le voulant . . . . " which is merely an adaptation of the first three stanzas of Canto XXIV of the *Orlando*.

The poem " Penser, qui en feus et en glaces " (*Diverses Amours,* Liv. I) which, on account of its length, I shall not quote here, is entirely based on an episode in the *Orlando,* I, 41-44. A lover is lamenting the loss of his lady, who has, he believes, bestowed her favors on another; he complains against cruel Fortune, which has denied him the just reward of his long affection; likens the virgin to a rose, that, once plucked, soon loses its fairness and fragrance; and concludes that since his love has been taken from him, he no longer cares to live.[32]

The opening stanza of Canto II of the *Orlando* may perhaps have suggested to Baïf the first four lines of a short poem in the *Diverses Amours.* Ariosto had accused Love of wilfully inciting hearts to discord, and of making him sigh for one who scorned him, while to her who loved him he remained indifferent. The French poet begins his verses thus:

> Je ne fais cas d'une qui m'aime bien,
> Et celle là qui me hait, me martire:
> Où je puis tout, helas! je ne veux rien,
> Où je ne puis, vainement je desire.
> (I, 302)

The opening lines of another poem in the *Diverses Amours* (Liv. II), "Amour pour quoi fais-tu que je m'addresse," repeat this complaint (" Amour . . . . De consumer . . . .").

The sonnet " L'Amoureux est chasseur, l'Amour est une chasse " seems to take its quatrains from *Orlando Furioso,* X, 7, where the lover is compared to a hunter, who never tires of persuing his prey, in fair weather or foul, over smooth fields or rough hill-land.

The final tercet of the sonnet " Le temps estoit venu, que les celestes feux " contains a similar idea, and similarly expressed, to that found in lines 1-4 of the Sixth Madrigal of Ariosto, " Se voi così miraste alla mia fede." " Just as my lady is fairer than all others," say both poets, " so am I more loyal than any other lover."

[32] The comparison of a young girl to a sheltered flower had already been imitated by Du Bellay; Ariosto himself had taken it from Catullus. For a discussion of these points see p. 100.

Ariosto's Ninth Elegy " Ben è dura e crudel, se non si piega," is a serious reproach, directed at his lady, who had promised to show him favor and then refused to keep her word; hard and cruel, he says, is the woman who refuses all hope to her faithful suitor; but much worse is she who promises him her love, and then withholds it. Her falsehood may be concealed on Earth, but Heaven sees it. As for himself, he had been given no doubtful assurance, but a down-right yes, which made Madonna's treason all the blacker; his sorrow at his folly in trusting her is great, but still greater is his grief for her lack of character, her fickleness, more shifting than a dry leaf in the wind. Faith should be kept unbroken, were it pledged to one or to a hundred, in private or in public; a simple word, among gentle folk, should be as binding as a solemn oath. Let not women think, because they are beautiful, that they can ignore every obligation of honor and gratitude: their deceitful charms will betray and leave them at last, as they have betrayed and abandoned their lovers. So ought Madonna to repent, before punishment overtakes her; and if she wishes to make honest amends, let her show mercy to his long-tried love.

This whole exhortation, complete in every detail,[33] has been taken over by Baïf in the poem " Une Maistresse est bien dure et cruelle " (Liv. III). The content of Baïf's poem is almost exactly that of Ariosto's, and is developed at very nearly the same length: eighty-two lines in the case of the first, eighty-five in the case of the second. Many of the verses in the French poem are actual translations from the Italian; a comparison of the opening lines of both will illustrate this point:

Ben è dura e crudel, se non si piega
Donna a prometter, quanto un suo fedele,
Che lungamente l'ha servita, prega:
(1-3)

Une Maistresse est bien dure et cruelle,
Qui ne s'accorde à la fin de promettre
Le deu loyer d'un serviteur fidelle.
(1-3)

Another interesting feature of this imitation is the care that Baïf has taken to approximate the rhyme-scheme of Elegy 9.

[33] Save one; see below, p. 129.

As a substitute for Ariosto's *terza rima* [34] he uses ten-syllable lines, each and all of which end in mute e; and he groups his lines, as does Ariosto, in tercets, with a quatrain at the poem's conclusion.

Despite their similarity of form and content, however, the two poems are different in tone. Certain verses of Elegy 9 have a loftily chivalrous note which Baïf does not attempt to equal; compared with them, the sentiments which he expresses seem frivolous and thin.

This impression is heightened by the fact that the only important change which Baïf made, in adapting the material of Elegy 9 to his own uses, was to omit the two stanzas in which Ariosto describes the sanctity of a promise (ll. 43-48); these are the finest lines in the Elegy; Polidori [35] esteems them "tra le sentenze più belle del nostro cavalleresco poeta." [36]

The succeeding elegy (10), "O vero o falso che la fama suone," was also imitated in part by Baïf. In it (ll. 1-7) the lover likens himself to the bear, which, when wounded, applies anything that it happens on, herbs, sticks, brambles, or earth, to its hurt, and in a short while so aggravates the wound as to render it mortal. Just so, says the poet, his obstinacy in continually returning to the presence of his heartless mistress has sharpened the pangs of his hopeless love; and yet absence from her is even more painful (ll. 2-6, 10-12, 16-18, 26-27). Baïf has transferred this image to a poem in the *Diverses Amours,* "Je m'attendoy que la cuisante ardeur"; cf. the passage "J'ay recherché . . . . Le seul . . . . "

The two poets were not always so unfortunate in their loves as the passages just quoted would lead us to believe. Ariosto was ecstatically sure of Madonna's affection when he wrote his Fifth Elegy, "Forza è al fin che si scuopra e che si veggia." Baïf was likewise on one occasion blessed with his lady's favor, and expressed his joy in much the same manner, in the poem "Je ne puis tenir mon aise"; the first three lines of this poem seem to be an imitation of ll. 1-2 and 40-42 of the Elegy.

[34] An 11-syllabled verse, with the final accent on the penultimate syllable; rhymes a b a b c b, etc.

[35] Cf. his edition of the *Opere Minori,* I, 230.

[36] Ariosto.

This poem is one of those written during the period when Baïf was in love with Méline. It will be remembered that one of the sonnets in the *Amours de Méline* showed in some slight degree the influence of Ariosto's Elegy 6, " O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara." The influence of the Sixth Elegy appears again here, in the lines in which Baïf thanks the torch which lighted his rendezvous on a certain happy night, fairer, to his mind, than the fairest day: " Mon aimé flambeau . . . . De ma mignarde . . . . "; compare with this lines 1-3, 37-42, and 49-51 of the Elegy.

I have found in this poem of Baïf's some material taken from the descriptions of Alcina and of Olimpia (on which see pp. xvi, 3, 4, above). In praising the beauty of his lady's form, the poet says that her charms could have vanquished those of the three goddesses, and made Paris, had he seen her, declare in her favor (" J'ay veu, ... Eust bien . . . .). This is from the description of Olimpia, *O. F.*, XI, 70, ll. 1-4. The passage " Je vy sa gorge . . . . Les ondes . . . . " is imitated from the description of Alcina, *O. F.*, VII, 14.

The poem " Te téray-je, Litelet " (Liv. III), dates likewise from the period of Baïf's amours with Méline,[37] and is likewise based on Ariosto's Sixth Elegy, lines 28-33.

On the theme of these six lines Baïf has constructed a poem which covers about six pages, in the close type of the Marty-Laveaux edition; M. Vianey, in speaking of this performance, bestows on its author the title of " prince des amplificateurs." [38]

The friendly torch appears again [39] in this poem (I, pp. 383, 384).

Poemes, Jeux, Passetemps. Early in the year 1573, Baïf published, under the comprehensive title of *Euvres en Rime*, four groups of poems. These were the *Amours* (*Amour de Francine, Diverses Amours*) which I have already discussed; [40]

[37] She is mentioned in the poem, p. 383, etc.
[38] *L'Arioste et la Pléiade*, p. 299.
[39] Cf. *supra*.
[40] See p. 121.

the *Poemes* (in nine books); the *Jeux* (five books) and the *Passetemps* (five books). Taken collectively, the poems and plays contained in them represent, says M. Augé-Chiquet, the work of twenty-three years; some were written as early as 1549, and some as late as the latter part of 1572.[41] They vary as widely in form, and in the subjects which they treat, as in the dates of their composition; they range from eclogues to epigrams, from love-songs to a pseudo-scientific discourse on astronomical phenomena,[42] and yet M. Augé-Chiquet believes that all were conceived according to the requirements of a single unchanging criterium, and that neither Baïf's method nor his models varied much after 1555, the year in which he published *Francine*. An examination of the poems contained in all twenty-six books of the *Euvres en Rime* convinces one that this is true. Baïf's work does not change, for Baïf himself does not, after his affair with Francine, develop emotionally. He remains, from first to last, more sensitive to form than to feeling, not exactly impersonal, but—in spite of the sensual note struck here and there—cold. His one real and constant love is classicism. M. Augé-Chiquet calls him a "poète alexandrin" and demonstrates that it was because Ariosto and his contemporaries (except Bembo) were themselves "Alexandrins," that they had such a firm position in the estimation of Baïf.

In view of this uniformity of inspiration and method, then, I have felt justified in considering all the groups of the *Euvres en Rime*, except the *Amours*, together. Of these *Amours*, the *Amour de Francine* had already been published in 1555; the *Diverses Amours* is too closely connected with *Francine* in theme and date of composition to be separated from it, and both, being entirely sequences of love-poems, differ in content from the other *Euvres en Rime*. I therefore isolated them from the rest of the collection, and discussed them together.[43]

The connection between the work of Ariosto and the *Poemes*, *Jeux*, and *Passetemps* seems hitherto to have received very little consideration. MM. Vianey [44] and Augé-Chiquet [45] have

[41] *Jean Antoine de Baïf*, p. 204.
[42] The *Meteores, Poemes*, Liv. I.
[43] See p. 121.
[44] Cf. his *l'Arioste et la Pléiade*, pp. 307, 310, 311.
[45] Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 212-216; 231, 232.

both devoted some pages to Genévre and Fleurdepine,[46] Baïf's adaptations of two incidents related in the *Orlando;*[47] but except for this no *rapprochements* have been made. It is quite true that in the *Poemes, Jeux,* and *Passetemps* the work of Ariosto is not imitated with anything like the frequency that it was in the *Amours;* nevertheless some evidences of his influence are to be noted here. That this influence is very generally that of the *Orlando* is to be attributed to the fact that there are no love-lyrics in these three groups; hence, I find only two cases of borrowing from the minor works.[48] The material taken from the *Orlando* is mostly, as was the case in the *Amours,* chosen from the less frequently imitated portions of the epic.

Alcina appears twice in the *Poemes;* and Ariosto's praise of poets (in the Heaven of the Moon episode, XXXV) is also echoed once.

Taking up the *Poemes,* which M. Marty-Laveaux places next in chronological order after the *Amours,* we come first to "Le Laurier" (Liv. I) a poem whose theme is the old legend of Daphne turned into a laurel-tree.

Baïf begins this story by recounting that the nymph, tired after a morning's hunting, came to rest in a shady valley; here she was seen sleeping by Apollo, who straightway fell in love with her and attempted to carry her off. This is somewhat analogous to one of the adventures sustained by Ariosto's Angelica (*O. F.,* I), who also, on a certain occasion, sought repose in a shady bower and was awakened by the sudden arrival of one of her suitors. But it is in the description of Daphne's leafy resting place that the poem of Baïf most closely resembles the stanzas of Ariosto; compare the passage "Des nymphes . . . . Lors estoit . . . . " with *Orlando Furioso,* I, 35, ll. 2-8; 36, ll. 3-8; 37; and 38, ll. 1-4.

Baïf then proceeds to give us a description of Daphne as she lay sleeping, one detail of which he has taken from Ariosto's

[46] *Poemes,* Liv. V.

[47] Cf. Cantos IV, 51-VI, 16; and XXV.

[48] See pp. 135, 136.

portrait of Alcina, *O. F.*, VII, 14.[49] The imitation is as follows:

Soit que lentement repousse,
Tirant son haleine douce,
Ses tetins, comme en repos
La Zephirine secousse
Meine à rive les doux flots.
(II, 47)

This is not the first time that Baïf has imitated this simile. We found it in a poem in the *Diverses Amours;* there it was applied to the beauties of Méline.

The poem "Les Muses" (Liv. II) contains a long eulogy of poets, similar to that which Ariosto has put into the mouth of Saint John when he is discoursing with Astolpho in the Heaven of the Moon.[50] Besides following its general trend, praising the wisdom of those rulers who were generous to poets, abusing those who are not, mentioning the protectors of Homer, Virgil, and so forth, Baïf has imitated fairly closely the phrasing of stanza 24; cf. the passage "Mais vous . . . . Pour n'avoir . . . .". Baïf, when he wrote this poem, was certainly inspired in some measure by Horace, *Carm.*, IV, viii and ix, which had influenced Ariosto himself (cf. p. 104, above); nevertheless, the lines which I have just mentioned connect it with the *Orlando.*

Of the *Genévre* (Liv. V) and the *Fleurdepine* (Liv. V) there is not much to be said. The first recounts a story found in Cantos IV, 51-VI, 16, of the *Orlando:* Ginevra, daughter to the king of Scotland, is made the victim of a wicked plot concocted by Polinesso, a rejected suitor, and by one of her waiting-women who is infatuated with this man. The princess is defamed in the eyes of the world, estranged from her true lover, and put in peril of her life, when the timely arrival of Rinaldo, the paladin, who has come to Scotland seeking troops for Charlemagne, saves her. Rinaldo, like the perfect knight-errant that he is, uncovers the plot, challenges and kills Polinesso, and sees to it that Ginevra is happily married to the man she loves. The entire *Genévre* was not written by Baïf; it had been begun by Mellin de Saint-Gelais, and carried by him so far as to in-

[49] See p. 3 for this stanza.
[50] *O. F.*, XXXV, 18-30.

clude the first eleven stanzas of Canto V. Baïf must have taken it up somewhere near the verse "Bien apres touché d'amour nouvelle." [51]

Fleurdepine, which Baïf wrote at the request of De Maintenon, *Grand Maréchal des logis,* is an adaptation of an episode related in Canto XXV, 24-69, of the *Orlando.* Bradamante, the girl-knight, is found sleeping in a forest by Fiordispina, a Spanish princess, who, believing her to be a man, falls in love with her. A few words serve to cure Fiordispina of her error, but not of her love, the apparent hopelessness of which causes the Spanish lady profound grief.

Bradamante, returned home to the family castle, tells her twin brother, Ricciardetto, of this adventure; the youth, in whom reports of Fiordispina's beauty had long before kindled a passion, resolves to go to the princess in his sister's place. His striking resemblance to his sister deceives Fiordispina and all her court. As soon as they are alone, the pretended Bradamante tells Fiordispina that he has been changed by a beneficent fairy into a man, and the happiness of the princess is complete.

Both these poems follow their models from stanza to stanza; no attempt is made to tamper with the plots as they are laid down by Ariosto. MM. Vianey [52] and Augé-Chiquet [53] have remarked on Baïf's at times unfortunate tendency to expand and amplify the Italian's phrases; this is his only striking innovation. No attempt has been made here to render the meter [54] of the *Orlando.* Baïf uses ten-syllable lines, rhyming aa bb, etc., and grouped eight, ten, twelve, sometimes fourteen, to the stanza.

The *Mascarade de Monseigneur le Duc de Longueville* (Liv. VII) begins with the entrance of a fairy, who describes to the audience the delicious valley where the fairies make their abode. It is, she says, a sheltered garden-spot, where the old charms of Alcina and of Morgan le Fay are still practised; there one may see many a statue, many a tree or fountain, which was once a human being, and is now retained in its present shape by magic arts ("Ceint de rochers . . . . Eternel . . . . ").

[51] For this information, cf. Vol. II, note 48, of the Marty-Laveaux edition of the works of Baïf.

[52] In *L'Arioste et la Pléiade,* pp. 310-311.

[53] In *Jean Antoine de Baïf,* pp. 231, 232.

[54] *Ottava rima.*

In proof of this, she displays six fruit-trees, and six rocks; these were once upon a time six young girls, and their suitors. The young men, unable to obtain any encouragement from their mistresses, had in despair prayed that their woe might be buried in stone; the prayer was granted, and, at the same time, the heartless young ladies had been punished for their obstinacy. After this recital, each of the trees, and each of the rocks, recites a verse.

Apart from the fact that Alcina's name is mentioned here, the description of the fairy valley, with its many streams, its infinite variety of plants, trees, birds, and beasts, resembles not a little what Ariosto tells us of the Island-paradise of his enchantress, *O. F.*, VI, 20, 21, 22.[55] Alcina's domain was also full of enchanted people; it will be remembered that she took this method of ridding herself of the lovers of whom she tired (cf. *O. F.*, VI, 51).

The idea of the six young girls who, disguised as fruit-trees, recite warnings against the sin of pride to one's faithful lover, may perhaps have been suggested to Baïf by the doleful discourse of Ariosto's Astolpho, who had been changed by Alcina into a myrtle.[56]

In the *Epithalame à Monsieur Morel* we find this stanza, addressed to the bridegroom:

> Apres avoir fait long voyage
> A travers maint facheux rocher,
> Vien prendre port sur le rivage.
> Tous tes ennuis vien defascher
> Entre les bras aimez de celle
> Qui est ta plus chere pucelle,
> Toy, celuy qu'elle tient plus cher.
> (II, 354-55)

This is similar in idea to the Third Sonnet of Ariosto, "O sicuro, secreto e fido porto."

In the ninth of the eclogues which compose the first book of *Jeux* (*Pan*), Baïf, like Ronsard,[57] tells the story of the beloved of Venus, Adonis, who is slain by a wild boar. The plaints of Baïf's Venus, when she sees that her lover is dying, have a certain similarity with those uttered by the Venus of Ronsard;

[55] See p. 78, above.

[56] *O. F.*, VII, 26-53; cf. also p. 111 of this thesis. The general influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* might of course also count for something here.

[57] Cf. p. 64, above.

like his friend, Baïf has probably, in the lines " Baise moy . . . . Tu meurs, ... " imitated the *Orlando Furioso,* XXIV, 82, ll. 4-8 (the death of Zerbino).[58]

The same passage in the *Orlando* is imitated again in the *Epitaphe à Damoiselle Jane de Sainte Christine* (*Passetemps,* Liv. V), written for her fiancé, Claude Le Clerc. Cf. the lines " D'avoir esté . . . . Las! . . . . "

This *Epitaphe* shows much more feeling than most of Baïf's poems; perhaps he was inspired partly by the grief of the lover, and partly by the real pathos of the scene in the *Orlando.*

Eclogue 16, *La Sorciere, Jeux* (Liv. I), begins thus:

> Mais disons la chanson de Brelande sorciere,
> . . . . Sur la rive de Seine . . . .
> Combien que contremont la Seine recula
> A l'horreur de la voix: combien que d'effroy pleines
> Les Najades des eaux, elles et leurs fontaines
> Tressaillirent d'horreur: Monte-Marte à ceste voix,
> Et tout branslant trembla de Meudon tout le bois.

This is a combination of details taken from a passage in the *Orlando,* XXVII, 101, ll. 1-7, and from a passage in Virgil's *Æneid,* VII, 515-517.

The 1573 edition of the *Euvres en Rime* was headed by a dedicatory poem, *Au Roy;* and it is in this piece that we find the only trace of a possible influence of Ariosto's Satires on the work of Baïf. Even here, it is possible that the similarity is caused by a likeness in the subject-matter treated, rather than by Baïf's having borrowed anything from the Italian. The poem is largely autobiographical, and in it we find praise of Baïf's teacher, Jean Dorat, who, the poet says, guided him to Parnassus (" De là . . . . Par les chemins . . . . "). This passage resembles in content and movement ll. 166-171, and the conclusion, of Ariosto's Satire to Pietro Bembo, in which he, too, speaks of his early training, and praises his master, Gregorio da Spoleti.

An over-hasty examination of the work of Baïf might incline one to think that he was better fitted to comprehend and to reproduce the spirit of the Italian's poetry than was Du Bellay.

[58] On this story cf. p. 36, above.

In the case of the more passionate and voluptuous of Ariosto's poems, this is true. It is also true that Baïf, when imitating the work of Ariosto, is apt to follow his model with more docility than Du Bellay; where the latter would often entirely rearrange and refashion the material that he took, mingling with it bits borrowed from other authors, and original touches of his own, until nothing but the basic idea remained the same, Baïf is usually content to retail what he has received in the same order in which it is given to him, and without effecting any very striking changes.

This is not really an indication of spiritual kinship with Ariosto. It proceeds, rather, from a lack of the imaginative quality, an absence of spontaneous emotional inspiration, combined with a reverent fear of tampering with models which the judgment of contemporary critics had certified as correct and admirable.

The feeling in Ariosto's poetry Baïf was less capable of understanding than Du Bellay, who, if he never assumed the ultra-chivalrous attitude of the author of the *Orlando,* could at least, at times, equal him in his generous independence of spirit, his sincere patriotism, and unselfish loyalty to his friends.[59] These delicate idealistic sentiments are not for Baïf. Italy, so constantly an inspirational force in the work of Ariosto and so much in evidence in that of Du Bellay, means nothing to him.[60] On the other hand, his discontent when away from his own country, his satisfaction when he returns to it, seem less inspired by genuine patriotism than by the dislike of any violent change in his method of living, and the desire to pursue undisturbed his comfortable, customary routine. By Ariosto's more exaltedly chivalrous passages he was, as we have seen, entirely unimpressed.[61]

All this without doubt explains why, unlike Du Bellay, he never found the *Satires* congenial. What he does share in common with Ariosto is a love of pastoral descriptions, of shady groves, murmuring fountains and flowery fields;[62] it is inter-

[59] See p. 116 on this point.

[60] Cf. his "Au Chevalier Bonet," *Poemes* IX, Vol. II, 454.

[61] See p. 129.

[62] Cf. his *Eclogues;* also the *Laurier,* and the *Mascarade de M. de Longueville* discussed in pages 132, 134 of this thesis.

esting to remember that during the last years of their lives both poets, the Frenchman and the Italian, found great pleasure in gardening.

They were also similar in their taste for the voluptuous, the sensual, at times the obscene. This trait Du Bellay entirely lacked.

The form of Ariosto's verses also had their effect on Baïf. M. Augé-Chiquet has spoken [63] of his imitation of the *canzoni, capitoli, strambotti,* and *sestine,* made fashionable by the Italian Petrarquists, with whom Ariosto is by his verse-forms identified. Of course the mere fact that Baïf also wrote lyrics of this type is no proof of his having been drawn to them by the influence of the Ferrarese; but when, as in the case of the poem "Une Maistresse est bien dure et cruelle" [64] we find absolute identity, not only of form but of content, with one of the poems [65] in the *Opere Minori;* and when, in a long passage imitated from the letter of Bradamante,[66] Baïf takes care to approximate Ariosto's own special verse-form, *ottava rima,* we ought safely to be able to assume such influence to have existed.

M. Vianey, in his article *L'Arioste et la Pléiade,* has remarked [67] on Baïf's tendency to amplify the material he takes from Ariosto. M. Augé-Chiquet, in discussing the same topic,[68] has given as an example of this a passage from *Fleurdepine,*[69] in which Ariosto's brief statement—"La invita a caccia" [70]—is turned into a long ceremonious discourse of invitation, which fills ten lines.

Although at times, as in the poem "Le Laurier," [71] Baïf mingles bits of material taken from the works of Ariosto directly with his classic sources, he never, as did some of his con-

[63] *Jean Antoine de Baïf,* p. 296.

[64] *Diverses Amours,* Liv. II, Vol. I, 332.

[65] Elegy 9; see p. 128.

[66] Cf. the "Envieux medisant, de qui la bouche est pleine" of the *Amour de Francine,* Liv. IV, Vol. I, 257; also p. 126 of this thesis.

[67] Pp. 299, 310, 311.

[68] *Jean Antoine de Baïf,* pp. 231, 232.

[69] The lines beginning "Beau Chevalier" . . . . ; cf. *Poemes,* Liv V, Vol. II, 262.

[70] *O. F.,* XXV, 28, l. 7.

[71] *Poemes,* I, Vol. II, 43.

temporaries,[72] classes Ariosto with Homer and Virgil, nor mentions the heroes of the *Orlando* in conjunction with those of the *Iliad* and the *Æneid*. There was evidently in his mind a very definite division between the work of the Italian and what he considered the real classics. This attitude, a constant striving to imitate the august calm of the great ancients, besides a certain coldness of temperament, are probably what separate him so widely from Ariosto. In spite of the fact that Baïf's sensitiveness to form and meter at times enables him to reproduce quite adequately the phrases of the Italian, this likeness of form, phrase, and image does not convince us that their talents were similar.

[72] Du Bellay, de Magny; see pp. 94, 169.

CHAPTER FOUR

PONTUS DE TYARD [1]

Although Pontus de Tyard began to publish his verses earlier than almost any other member of his group, he never became one of its leaders. For this there were a variety of reasons; in the first place, his various priestly charges [2] and the scientific studies to which he loved to devote himself [3] absorbed a great deal of his time, so that his lyric compositions are relatively few. In the second place, neither his models in the art of poetry, nor the goal which he was striving to reach as a poet, were exactly those of the other members of the Pléiade. The two masters whom he imitated constantly, almost exclusively, were Maurice Scève and Petrarch — in popularizing in France the verse-forms of the latter De Tyard played no small part; while his ample private fortune, which made it unnecessary for him to rhyme for patronage, as did almost all of his contemporaries, and his conviction that his real claim to glory lay in his scholarly achievements, caused him to hold his own lyrics lightly, and to consider their production as merely an agreeable and fashionable pastime.[4] Moreover, Pontus was constrained, both by temperament and by profession, to express himself at all times with the greatest discretion, which, though it may be the better part of valor, is certainly the death of poetic inspiration; so that his lyrics, the greater part of which are love-sonnets, are pleasing but insipid.

This being the case, it is easy to understand why Tyard's poems should contain few *rapprochements* with the work of

[1] The edition of the works of Tyard used is that prepared by Marty-Laveaux, Paris, Lemerre, 1875 (in one volume with the works of Jean Dorat). All page numbers given refer to this edition.

[2] He was successively a Canon of the Cathedral at Mâcon, prothonotary of the Holy See, and Bishop of Chalons. Cf. Abel Jeandet, *Pontus de Tyard,* Paris, Aubry, 1860, pp. 199 sqq.

[3] Astronomy and philosophy; cf. *op. cit.,* pp. 151 sqq.

[4] Cf. his *Epître* at the head of the *Œuvres poétiques* of 1573; cf. also Jeandet, *Pontus de Tyard,* pp. 124, 125.

Ariosto, and why, of those few, the greater part should be imitations of the *Opere Minori* (sonnets, elegies, and madrigals); he naturally preferred those of Ariosto's poems which most resembled the verses of Petrarch, and which were, by consequence, most decorous in tone.[5] The Satires Pontus does not imitate. There is never in his poems any reference to the *Orlando,* or to any of its characters;[6] the influence of Bradamante's letter to Ruggiero[7] is evident in one piece, and two others show some imitation of the description of Alcina.[8]

The Erreurs Amoureuses, 1549. The first volume of *Erreurs amoureuses* contained seventy sonnets and a number of songs and epigrams. It was dedicated, like the second and third volumes, to a lady of noble rank, whom Tyard calls Pasithée. The identity of this person has never been discovered;[9] the poet rendered her a devotion which was constant and sincere, but entirely platonic.

Sonnet III, "Sous ton haut front, qui le cler Ciel ressemble," is the first poem in this group to hold any interest for us; its movement seems to be imitated from that of Ariosto's famous Twenty-Second Sonnet, "Madonna, sete bella, e bella tanto,"[10] which was imitated by Du Bellay, Ronsard, and Baïf;[11] but Tyard, as is usually the case with him, follows his model less closely than do the other three.

Next is Sonnet XXVI, "De tes cheveux si blondement dorez," in which de Tyard elaborates the familiar conceit by

[5] The Sixth and Seventh Elegies (see p. 38, above) are of course to be excepted; Pontus never imitates them.

[6] Such as occurs in the poems of Ronsard, of Du Bellay and De Magny: cf. pp. 5, 112, 170 of this thesis.

[7] See p. xvi, above.

[8] See p. 3, above.

[9] M. Marty-Laveaux has proven (cf. his edition of the works of Pontus de Tyard, p. xvi) that the lady could not have been, as M. Jeandet had suggested, Louise Labé.

[10] Cf. p. xv, above.

[11] See pp. 27, 96, 125 of this thesis.

which a lady's hair becomes a golden net, and her brows a bow—arms with which Cupid hunts his victims. The chief source [12] of this is certainly Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, which Ronsard and Du Bellay were so fond of imitating.[13]

Lyrics Published from 1551 to 1555. I have discussed the first *Erreurs amoureuses* separately because in it, as we have seen, there is no imitation of the *Orlando Furioso*. From 1551 on the poems of Tyard show a certain amount of *rapprochement* with the epic; I am less inclined to attribute this to the influence of any one of his contemporaries than to the fact that the *Orlando* was fashionable with the entire Pléiade just at this time.

The *Continuation des Erreurs amoureuses* (1551)[14] contained thirty-six sonnets, a *favorite*, a *sextine*, and several songs. One of the sonnets (XXX), "Mon esperance estoit des-jà montée," seems to have taken its quatrains from the first eleven lines of Ariosto's Fifth Sonnet, "Nel mio pensier, che così veggio audace," which was, it will be remembered, a favorite with Ronsard.[15]

The *Chant à son leut* is a long and detailed description of the beauties of Pasithée, written with something less than Tyard's usual restraint. In it he tells of her hair, her brow, her features, and her charming laughter; he praises her throat and bosom, but checks himself at

> Le pur de la voye lactée,
> D'où le penser seulement me console . . . .

and says,

> Ne chante point ce que je n'ose dire:
> Tout ce parfait, que l'honnesteté cele,
> Que craintif j'aime, et sans espoir desire.
> (M.-L., p. 127)

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[12] Cf. also Petrarch, *Canzoniere*, "Si é debile il filo a cui s'attene," ll. 81-85; "Nova angeletta sovra l'ale accorta"; "Non veggio ove scampar"; and "Amor fra l'erbe."

[13] Cf. pp. 21, 96, above.

[14] Published in one volume with a reprint of the first *Erreurs amoureuses*.

[15] Cf. p. 27, above. Cf. also *O. F.*, XXXII, 21.

The whole movement here is similar to that of Ariosto's description of Alcina, given in the *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 10-16.[16] It will be remembered that Ronsard, in his *Elégie à Janet* (1555)[17] and Baïf, in a song in the *Amours de Méline* (1552),[18] two poems which very much resemble in form the *Chant à son leut,* had both imitated the movement of this passage; one wonders if it was Tyard's song which led them to do so.

1552 saw the publication of the *Solitaire premier, ou Prose des Muses, et de la fureur Poétique. Plus Quelques vers Liriques.* With the *Solitaire premier,* interesting as it is,[19] we have no concern. Of the five odes [20] which occupy the rest of the space in this volume, the first, *Au Ciel, en faveur de sa Dame,* contains some stanzas probably inspired by lines 1-11 of Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," [21] which Pontus had already imitated in his *Erreurs amoureuses* of 1549.[22] In the *Ode,* he implores Heaven to make his mistress look kindly and tenderly upon him, so that she would no longer wound him with sharp glances shot from the ebony bows of her brows "Et que . . . . La mort . . . . "

Three years later (1555) Tyard published his *Erreurs amoureuses, Augmentées d'une tierce partie. Plus Un Livre de Vers Liriques.* Although this volume contained a number of new pieces, there is practically no imitation of the work of Ariosto. One of the thirty-three new sonnets in the third book of *Erreurs,* XIV, "Riches tresors, où la Nymphe qui garde,"

[16] See p. 3, above, where it is quoted. It is true that the details which Tyard gives concerning the appearance of Pasithée resemble only in a general way what Ariosto says of Alcina; perhaps the sage Pasithée might have been offended if her portrait had borne too close a resemblance to that of the lovely but vicious enchantress. In 1555, Pontus transferred the *Chant* to his *Vers lyriques.*

[17] Cf. p. 39, above.

[18] Cf. p. 120, above.

[19] This is a dialogue in prose between the Solitaire (Tyard) and Pasithée, in which the former argues in favor of the new school of French poetry, and abuses its enemies. An extract from this work is given by Marty-Laveaux in his edition of the poems of Tyard, pp. 227-229.

[20] On the imitation of the work of Ronsard observable in these odes, cf. M. Raymond, *L'Influence de Ronsard sur la poésie française,* Paris, H. Champion, 1927 (2 vols.), I, 76, 77.

[21] Cf. p. xv, above.

[22] See p. 141, above.

contains a reference to Pasithée's "deux pommes d'ivoire,"[23] probably suggested by a line in the description of Alcina: "Due pome acerbe, e pur d'avorio fatte."[24] This is all.

The Œuvres Poétiques, 1573. For eighteen years Tyard brought out no more volumes of love-poems; then, in 1573, he published his *Œuvres poétiques*. Besides the *Erreurs amoureuses* and the *Vers liriques*, this collection contained a number of new poems,[25] most of them addressed to Catherine de Clermont, Comtesse de Retz,[26] who had taken Pasithée's place in the affections of the poet. He always speaks of the Countess with the greatest respect; in a sonnet (II) he begins her praises thus:

> Quelle douce Python dictera la harangue
> De ma conception si hautement pensée?
> De quelle tienne ardeur (Phebus) sera poussée
> L'Ame pour deslier suffisamment ma langue?
> De quel Laurier faut il que la feuille je mange?
> Et de quel son faut il que ma voix soit haussée,
> Pour d'un parler disert descouvrir ma pensée,
> Chantant de voz vertus une digne louange?
> (Ll. 1-8; M.-L., p. 164)

Ariosto had begun the third canto of his *Orlando*, in which he sings the glories of the Este family, with a very similar movement (stanza 1).[27]

Also addressed to Mme de Retz is a longer poem in *rime tierce*,[28] "Plustost jamais le Ciel, mes ans d'un jour n'alonge," in which Tyard declares that his faithful love is as unshakable as a rock, and will never be changed by weal or woe ("Madame, vous . . . . Mais . . . . "). This more than hackneyed pro-

[23] Line 7; cf. M.-L., p. 108.

[24] *Orlando Furioso*, VII, 14, l. 3.

[25] Grouped under the title *Recueil des nouvell' œuvres poétiques*.

[26] One of the most accomplished women of her time; cf. Jeandet, *Pontus de Tyard*, pp. 210, 211.

[27] Also imitated by Ronsard and Du Bellay; cf. pp. 19, 106, above.

[28] An imitation of the Italian *terza rima*, which consists of verses of eleven syllables, grouped in threes, and rhyming aba, bcb, cdc, etc.

testation, which the poets of the Pleiade had been making since 1549,[29] is imitated from the *Orlando Furioso,* XLIV, 61 (part of the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero).

Ariosto had expressed the same idea in one of his elegies (Eight)[30] which begins "Qual son, qual sempre fui, tal esser voglio."

Of course the fact that the lines in the Elegy are written in *terza rima* makes them closer in verse-form to the rhymes of Tyard than is the passage from the *Orlando;* nevertheless it seems likely to me that it was the latter that he imitated. The verses to Mme de Retz show a greater similarity of movement to it than to the lines in the Elegy; moreover, since the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero was one of the most famous and most-imitated passages in the whole epic, it would naturally have been to it that Tyard would have turned for material for his poem.

In Sonnet XV, "Vien entre mes genoux, vien destin Filevie," he recounts that Jupiter himself arranged the happy destiny of the Countess, calling to him one of the Fates and bidding her spin an especially long and beautiful life-thread, which should be that of the noble lady. This was probably inspired by Ariosto's flattery of Ippolito d'Este, in the *Orlando Furioso,* XXXV, 3-4, 8-9, which Ronsard had imitated in his *Ode à Michel de l'Hospital* (1552).[31] In the passage in the *Orlando,* however, there is no mention of Jupiter; this touch was added by Ronsard; the fact that it is found also in Tyard's sonnet is perhaps a sign of Ronsard's influence upon him.

The first six stanzas of the song "Plaise à qui plaire peut, et louë qui voudra" (M.-L., p. 181) are a translation of lines 1-12 and 25-30 of Ariosto's Thirteenth Elegy, "Piaccia a cui piace, e chi lodar vuol lodi." These passages are too long for quotation here; I shall merely call attention to the fact that Pontus makes no attempt to reproduce the verse-form of the Elegy (*terza rima*); the *Chanson* is divided into four-line stanzas, twelve syllables to the line, and rhyming abba cddc, etc.

This consideration of the cases of *rapprochement* which occur between the work of Tyard and that of Ariosto has made

[29] Cf. Du Bellay, *Olive,* Sonnet XXXV (on which see p. 98, above).
[30] On this elegy cf. p. 120, above.
[31] See p. 29, above.

clear, I believe, two facts: first, that Tyard makes no special effort to imitate the verse-forms used by Ariosto;[32] and second, that what he prefers in the poetry of the Italian are the *concetti*—the graceful, artificial, extravagantly far-fetched metaphors to which all the sixteenth-century imitators of Petrarch were so unhappily addicted.[33] If it be kept in mind that Tyard's favorite passage in the poems of Ariosto is the first quatrain of the Sixth Sonnet,[34] in which Madonna's eyebrows are compared to Cupid's bows, which shoot arrows from her eyes, a fairly accurate understanding of his attitude towards Ludovico's work may be reached. In the face of this example, any further comments of mine would be unnecessary.

[32] On the other hand, Tyard frequently imitates the meters used by Petrarch, and is supposed to have been first to reproduce the *sestina* in French verse; cf. Francesco Flamini, "Du Rôle de Pontus de Tyard dans le 'pétrarquisme' français," *Revue de la Renaissance*, I (1901), 43-55.

[33] On Tyard's imitations of the work of Sannazaro, of Cariteo, and of Tebaldeo, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 49 sqq.

[34] At least, this is the one he most frequently imitates: cf. pp. 141, 143, above.

CHAPTER FIVE

REMY BELLEAU [1]

It is extremely difficult to determine the dates of composition of many of Belleau's poems. This is especially true of those collected in the *Petites Inventions* [2] and in the *Bergerie,*[3] the only volumes among Belleau's works to show the influence of the poetry of Ariosto, because, as M. Marty-Laveaux reminds us,[4] many of the poems in both were composed during Belleau's early years, when he was a young student in Paris (about 1552-1560) and before he became preceptor to the son of the Marquis D'Elbeuf. On the other hand, since in both these volumes we find poems, which, from their content, evidently belong to Belleau's early period, the season of his youthful love-affairs with Catin and Madelon,[5] and which show imitation of the work of Ariosto; and since the poem *La Verité Fugitive,*[6] which was written and published in 1561, in the middle of Belleau's career, two years before he went to take service with D'Elbeuf at Joinville, also shows this influence; and since, moreover, certain prose passages in the *Bergerie,* which could not have been written before 1563 at the very earliest, contain material taken from Ariosto's poems; and finally, because in all these cases, from beginning to end, Belleau shows no change in attitude towards the Italian, borrows no more from him at one time than at another, and favors in his later poems those same passages in the *Orlando* and *Opere minori* which he preferred to imitate in his early pieces; for all these reasons I do not feel that a chronological classification of the works of Belleau is essential to this study. If I have discussed his *Petites Inventions* and his *Verité Fugitive,* and his *Bergerie,* sepa-

[1] The edition of Belleau's works used is that of M. Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres Poétiques de Remy Belleau,* Paris, Lemerre, 1878, 2 vols. All page numbers refer to this edition.

[2] First ed., 1556, complete ed., 1578; cf. p. 148.

[3] First ed., 1565, complete ed., 1572; cf. p. 151.

[4] Cf. his edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques de Belleau,* I, i-xix.

[5] Cf. *Petites Inventions, La Nuict,* I, 130; *A L'Amour,* I, 153; *Bergerie, Esté,* I, 207 (*Premiere Journee*).

[6] For this poem cf. p. 150 of this thesis.

rately, it is rather for the sake of order and clarity than because the division marked any new development in Belleau's attitude towards his model.

Belleau did not imitate the work of the Italian with any great frequency. Compared to Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Baïf, he borrows very little indeed. When he *does* imitate Ariosto, it is always in poems on the subject of love. The *Verité Fugitive* is the only exception to this statement.

The influence of the Orlando on his work considerably surpasses that of the love-lyrics, though he, on one occasion, translated Elegy 6[7] in full, and twice imitated Ariosto's sixth sonnet, " La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," which Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baïf, and de Tyard had used before him. Indeed he seems to prefer almost always, when taking material from the poems of Ariosto, to choose passages already made familiar to the public by the work of Du Bellay, Ronsard, and Baïf. Of the episodes in the *Orlando* the description of Olimpia (XI, 65-71) is his favorite, with that of Alcina (VII, 11-16) running a close second. The former he imitates five times, the latter three. The letter of Bradamante he uses once, and once also her lament of Canto XXXII, 18-25.[7]

No influence of the *Satires* appears in Belleau's works; their note of malicious humor was probably uncongenial to his gentle, serious, literal mind.

I shall begin the discussion of the separate poems in which traces of Ariosto's influence appear by a consideration of those in the *Petites Inventions*, and of the *Verité Fugitive*.

The Petites Inventions. In 1556, Remy Belleau published at Paris his first volume of verse, the *Odes d'Anacreon Teien, traduites de Grec en François, ensemble quelques petites hymnes de son invention.* These " petites hymnes " were ten in number; in none of them is there any trace of the influence of Ariosto.

In 1578, however, a year after Belleau's death, there appeared a complete edition of his poems,[8] of which the second

[7] See p. xv, above, on these passages.

[8] Probably collected by his friends, Ronsard, Baïf, etc. Cf. A. Eckhardt, *Remy Belleau, sa vie, sa Bergerie*, Budapest, Nemeth, 1917, p. 97.

volume was entitled: *Les Odes d'Anacreon Teien, poete Grec, traduictes en François, Avec quelques petites Hymnes de son invention, et autres diverses poesies: Ensemble une Comedie.* It is the " diverses poesies " which are of interest to us, for in them we find several imitations of the work of Ariosto.

Just when they were composed it is impossible to say; but their light-hearted tone, and the fact that in all of them the poet sings his own loves, real or pretended, would indicate that they were written during the years 1552-1560, most of which were spent happily at Paris in intimate association with the other joyous companions of the *Pléiade.* M. Marty-Laveaux has given them the collective title of *Petites Inventions,* and has placed them, with the translations from Anacreon, at the head of his edition of the works of Belleau. I have followed both his designation and his chronological arrangement.

M. Vianey, in his article on *L'Arioste et la Pléiade,*[9] has remarked that the poem " La Nuit," *Petites Inventions,* I, 130, is a translation of Ariosto's Sixth Elegy, " O più il giorno a me lucida e chiara." This is the only evidence of the influence of his work on these poems which has hitherto been brought to light.

I have found two imitations of Bradamante's letter (*O. F.,* XLIV, 61-66), and one passage which blends material from the descriptions of Alcina and of Olimpia (*O. F.,* VII, 11-16; XI, 65-71). The latter, as we shall see when we come to the *Bergeries,* Belleau particularly liked. This is not much, but it must be borne in mind that the *Petites Inventions* is not a lengthy collection, nor Belleau anything like so indefatigable an imitator of the Ferrarese as were Ronsard, Baïf, and Du Bellay.

First of the *Petites Inventions* to show this influence is *La Nuict,* I, 130, a translation, as has been said before, of Ariosto's Elegy 6.[10] Belleau does not attempt to follow the verse form of the elegy, but its content he reproduces with the greatest precision: the dark night, which favors the lover's enterprise; the door which opens softly to admit him to his lady's embraces; the room where they met; the light which shone upon his lady's beauty; the joy they had together; he retells it all with humor

[9] *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 295.

[10] Cf. p. 38 on this elegy.

and grace, and with a skillful delicacy which enables him, while omitting no detail of the original, to avoid its occasional crudenesses.

The first three stanzas of the song "Autre amour que le tien me vient à déplaisir," are evidently inspired by the letter of Bradamante, *O. F.*, XLIV, 61, 63, 65.[11]

The conclusion of the poem *A l'Amour* is also taken from the letter of Bradamante, XLIV, 62, 65; cf. the lines "Or maintenant . . . . N'en quelque . . . . "

Previously in this same poem Belleau had combined the beauties of Alcina (*O. F.*, VII, 11-16) and Olimpia (*O. F.*, XI, 65-71) in a description of the ungrateful mistress to whom he was bidding a pettish farewell. Compare the passage "L'œil . . . . Le lis, ... " with *O. F.*, VII, 11-13, and XI, 68.

When in 1561 the chief of the conspirators of Amboise, Louis de Condé, was cleared by a solemn decree of the French parliament of the charges against him, Belleau, who was at this time Protestant in his sympathies, published in honor of Condé's liberation an anonymous pamphlet containing three allegorical poems, one of which was *La Verité Fugitive*. This told the story of a handsome shepherd, who, coming to drink at a spring in a forest, perceived a nymph sleeping near it. He approached in order to embrace her; she awoke, fled from him, and soon vanished amid the trees. That the nymph was meant to represent Truth, and the shepherd, Condé, is of little significance to us; the interesting point about the poem is that, as M. Eckhardt has pointed out,[12] the description of the sheltered wood and spring comes from the *Orlando Furioso*, I, 35-38. I have already discussed these stanzas in connection with the *Laurier* of Baïf (see p. 132) which shows an interesting similarity of theme and treatment with the poem of Belleau. For the description of the spring given in the *Verité Fugitive*, cf. the lines "Elle s'égare . . . . Ses yeux ternis . . . . "

Years afterwards, when he had become the loyal follower of the ultra-catholic Guises, Belleau eliminated from the *Verité Fugitive* all its partizan elements, re-christened it *La Chasteté*, and inserted it in his *Bergerie* (1572). This change did not affect the passage which I have quoted; and therefore, in spite

[11] See p. xvi, above.

[12] *Remy Belleau*, pp. 56, 57.

of the fact that in the Marty-Laveaux edition of Belleau's works the poem, in its later form, is printed as a part of the *Bergerie* (*Primiere Journee,* I, 221), I have preferred to discuss the passage at this point, where the date of its composition would naturally place it.

The Bergerie. The first edition of the *Bergerie* appeared in 1565, the full and complete collection in 1572. Since, according to M. Marty-Laveaux,[13] the *Bergerie* is a mixture of poems written in Belleau's youth and of his later compositions, and since it is in many cases impossible to decide in which of these two categories a given poem should be placed, I shall follow the plan of Marty-Laveaux, and consider as a group all the pieces in the *Bergerie* of 1572. Here again not much has been done to bring out the relationship of this collection to the work of Ariosto. M. Vianey has pointed out[14] a sonnet, "Un desir trop ardant d'un vol libre et hautain" in the *Premiere Journee de la Bergerie,* which has its source in the *Orlando;* but this is all.

The sonnet noted by M. Vianey is based on a stanza[15] in one of Bradamante's laments, *O. F.,* XXXII, 18-25. It will be remembered that Ronsard and Du Bellay both imitated this passage;[16] as a rule, indeed, Belleau, on those rather infrequent occasions when he does imitate the work of Ariosto, sticks conservatively to his best-known and best-liked passages.[17] In this Belleau is Baïf's exact opposite.[18]

In the several cases of *rapprochement* which I am able to add to that discovered by M. Vianey, the poet imitates chiefly the *Orlando.* I have already said that in one instance he borrowed from the lament of Bradamante of Canto XXXII, 18-25. Besides this, he has in four cases taken material from the description of Olimpia, *O. F.,* XI, 65-71, and in three from that

[13] Cf. his edition of the *Œuvres Poétiques* of Belleau, I, XI, XII.
[14] In *L'Arioste et la Pléiade,* p. 298.
[15] Stanza 21.
[16] Cf. pp. 32, 84, 98, above.
[17] Cf. p. 148 of this thesis.
[18] Cf. p. 118 of this thesis.

of Alcina, *O. F.*, VII, 11-16. On two occasions details from these latter sources are mingled together in the same poem. There are no evidences of his having made use of the episode of Roland's losing his wits; nor, what is much more surprising, of the letter of Bradamante.

The imitations begin with the *Esté* (*P. J.*),[19] in which Belleau gives a picture of the shepherdess Catin, who has put off her garments in order to bathe; the description of her naked body ("Que de lis, ... D'un beau . . . . " (I, 209)) is probably inspired by Ariosto's description of Alcina (*O. F.*, VII, 11, ll. 5-6; 14, ll. 1-3) and especially of Olimpia (*O. F.*, XI, 68; 69, ll. 2-4).

The second passage in the *Bergerie* in which Belleau has blended the charms of Olimpia and Alcina is a combination of verse and prose (I, 258-259); we have first a sonnet "Qu' Amour voulant forger, dorer, tremper et ceindre," and then a prose passage "Plus je vous diray . . . . vent mollet," describing the throat and bosom of the young woman for whom the speaker, a shepherd, is sighing. The sonnet seems to be based on *Orlando Furioso,* XI, 66 (part of the description of Olimpia). The prose is a mixture of images taken from *O. F.*, XI, 68, and from *O. F.*, VII, 14.

The beauties of Olimpia, as described in *O. F.*, XI, 68. ll. 1-4, also inspired a three-line passage in the poem *L'Amour Rustique* (*Vendangeurs, P. J.*). It is Cupid of whom the poet is speaking:

> . . . . sa delicate peau
> Estoit comme la neige non encore touchee,
> Ou le lait caillotté sur la verte jonchee.
> (M.-L., I, 234)

In describing the vigor with which, on one occasion, Ruggiero and his warrior-sister Marfisa attacked a crowd of the hated Maganzesi, the enemies of their house, Ariosto had said that they were like swallows attacking and destroying a swarm of wasps (*Orlando Furioso,* XXVII, 177). Belleau, *P. J.*, turns this into a love-sonnet, "Qui n'a veu quelque fois à la chaleur ardante."

Love, heating and tempering his darts at the eyes of a fair lady (as in *O. F.*, XI, 66, description of Olimpia) appears again

[19] *Premiere Journee.*

in the prose passage "Hà trop beaux . . . . ses sagettes" (*P. J.*). The rest of this sentence, "yeux . . . . soudaine," resembles in theme Ariosto's Fifth Sonnet,[20] "Nel mio pensier, che così veggio audace." A few lines further on, the passage "Comme le Soleil . . . . cœur" was perhaps inspired by Ariosto's Seventeenth Sonnet,[21] "Chiuso era il sol da un tenebroso velo."

The sonnet "Amour estant lassé de trainer par les cieux" (*P. J.*) is apparently an expansion of lines 1-4 of Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro."

The next sonnet, "Un desir trop ardent d'un vol libre et hautain," is based on *Orlando Furioso,* XXXII, 21, one of the laments of Bradamante,[22] in which that heroine describes her love as mounting on wings towards the Heaven of its desires; but flying too high, its wings are scorched and it falls back wounded, only to recover and recommence the struggle once more.

Another poem[23] of Belleau's partly inspired by Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," is the sonnet "N'est-ce grand cas qu'un seul trait de ses yeux" (*Seconde Journee*). Belleau speaks (ll. 1-8 and 13-14) not only of the captivating net and darts, mentioned by Ariosto,[24] but also of a third weapon, fire. This was first added to the other two by Du Bellay, in his imitation of the Sixth Sonnet (*Olive,* Sonnet 10; see p. 96, above). When Ronsard imitated the Sixth Sonnet in his *Amours* of 1552, he followed Du Bellay's example;[25] and Belleau follows the lead of his friends.

Lines 1-8 of the succeeding sonnet, "Qui n'a veu quelquefois au lever du Soleil" (*S. J.*), are apparently taken from Ariosto's Ninth Madrigal, "La bella donna mia d'un sì bel foco," in which the poet likens his lady's face to an opening rose, seen in the glow of sunrise, and says that no beauty in the world can compare with it (ll. 5-7, 9-12, 17-19).

[20] Also imitated by Ronsard; cf. p. 27, above.
[21] Imitated by Ronsard and Du Bellay; cf. pp. 26, 97, above.
[22] Cf. p. xvi, above.
[23] Cf. *supra.*
[24] Cf. ll. 1-4.
[25] Cf. p. 21, above.

We have seen that there are not a great number of imitations of the work of Ariosto in the *Petites Inventions* and the *Bergerie;* in his later publications, the *Pierres Precieuses* (1576), the *Discours de la Vanité* (1576), and the *Eclogues Sacrees* (1576) there are none. It is true that Belleau's entire output of verse is not large; it is also true that a number of his poems were translations of the odes of Anacreon, into which material from the works of Ariosto could not, of course, be introduced, and that the *Pierres Precieuses* and the poems based on biblical subjects were not of a nature to receive influence from this quarter; but also, it is, I think, evident that many phases of Ariosto's work left Belleau entirely unenthusiastic.

The pastoral descriptions in the *Orlando* he certainly both enjoyed and admired, as witnesses the fact that he imitated one of them [26] in the *Verité Fugitive*. Ariosto's feeling for color, his love of beauty for its own sake and quite apart from any sensual ideas, his extreme satisfaction with some of the charming pictures created by his own imagination,[27] with all this Belleau was perfectly able to sympathize.

But the form of Ariosto's verses does not appear to interest him; and, in spite of his translation of the Sixth Elegy, the spirit that breathes perceptibly through his work is the reverse of passionate; M. Eckhardt is obviously right in saying of him that he was only "lascif et voluptueux sur le papier." [28] His work, and the actions of his life, reveal him as a gentle, honest, high-principled, deliberately courageous soul, like Ariosto in all this, but much less human, less vividly alive than he. He lacks the Italian's lusty joy of life, his mischievous delight in the follies of humanity, his constant, amiable scepticsm; in a word, Ariosto is a fine human being, but every whit human; Belleau is one of those who dwells chiefly in another world, a place of delicate fancies, the country that D'Urfé was to describe in his *Astrée*. This being the fact, it is natural that he should take from Ariosto what is pretty, gentle, and sentimental; the rest he passes blandly by.

[26] *O. F.*, I, 35-38. See p. 150.
[27] As the descriptions of Alcina, VII, 11-16, and of Olimpia, XI, 65-71.
[28] *Remy Belleau*, p. 110.

CHAPTER SIX

ESTIENNE JODELLE [1]

Few of Jodelle's lyric poems show any imitation of the work of Ariosto; those that do are not easy to place in chronological order, for they were all published for the first time after his death,[2] some in 1574, and some as lately as 1907; thus the dating of the volumes in which they appear gives us no clues as to when the poems were written. Neither does their contents shed much light on the matter. Five of the six pieces in which I have found *rapprochement* with the *Orlando* or the *Opere Minori* are love-poems addressed to the wife of the Baron de Retz—so much is certain, for Jodelle's verses are full of word-plays on the name; but Jean, baron d'Annebaut, de Retz et de la Hunaudaye, was twice married; his first wife was Antoinette de la Baume-Montrevel, and his second Catherine de Clermont.[3] Jodelle celebrated the charms of both these ladies,[4] and in such purely conventional terms, that it is frequently impossible to be sure to which one a particular poem is addressed.

He imitated the *Orlando Furioso* more often than the *Opere Minori;* indeed, Ariosto's Elegies, and his Satires, he did not imitate at all. In two instances, he has taken material from the description of Alcina,[5] and in a third, from Bradamante's lament of Canto XLV.[6] One poem contains a reference to Ruggiero, the young pagan hero of the *Orlando;* in another there is mention of the Orc.[7]

Since the cases of *rapprochement* are so few, and since the chronology of the poems in which they occur is so uncertain, I shall omit all sub-headings and consider them as a single group.

[1] Two editions of the poems of Jodelle are quoted in this chapter: *Les Œuvres d'Estienne Jodelle,* prepared by M. Marty-Laveaux (2 vols., Paris, Lemerre, 1868); and *Les Amours et autres poésies,* prepared by M. Van Bever, Paris, Sansot, 1907.

[2] Jodelle died in 1573.

[3] The same lady whom Pontus de Tyard sang in his *Œuvres poétiques;* cf. p. 144, above.

[4] Cf. Marty-Laveaux, II, p. 353, and Van Bever, p. 59, note 1.

[5] Cf. p. xvi, above.

[6] Cf. p. xvi, above.

[7] Cf. p. xvi, above.

The *Œuvres et Meslanges poétiques d'Estienne Jodelle,* first published by Charles de la Mothe in 1573,[8] and finally, in its most complete form, by Marty-Laveaux in 1868,[9] contains a number of *pièces liminaires, tombeaux,* eulogies of royal patrons, and, of course, poems in praise of the Mesdames de Retz. Among the latter were three long pieces called *Chapitres d'Amour;* I cannot tell whether they were written for Catherine or for Antoinette; the first *Chapitre,* "Amour qui quelquesfois emportes sur tes aisles," gives a glowing description of one of these ladies, which begins with the lines

> Si je veux raconter chasque don, qui s'assemble
> En son seul chef divin, je ne suis, pour descrire
> Ce beau poil seulement, capable ce me semble.
> (M.-L., II, p. 27)

Ariosto had begun his Seventh Sonnet, "Com' esser può che degnamente lodi," in a very similar manner (ll. 1-4). Jodelle continues, in the lines "Empestre . . . . Comme tirant . . . . ," to praise the lady's hair, which, he says, ensnares men's hearts, and her eyes, which pierce and burn them.

Although certain details of this passage come from the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch,[10] its main source is undoubtedly Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," [11] or rather, Du Bellay's imitation of the Sixth Sonnet (*Olive,* Sonnet X); [12] for it was, it will be remembered, Du Bellay who added the image "flame" to the net and darts spoken of by Ariosto. The *Olive* was published in 1549, when Jodelle was seventeen; it is impossible to be sure how long after this the *Chapitre* was written; the following circumstance, however, inclines me to think that it was composed not long after 1555. In that year, Baïf brought out his *Amour de Francine.* It contained an *épître,* "Brun, si tu veux sçavoir comme aujourd'huy je vy," [13] in

[8] Paris, Nicolas Chesneau and Mamert Patisson.

[9] It had been reprinted in 1583 and in 1597, each time with additions. The M.-L. edition contains a number of pieces which had never before been published.

[10] Cf. the poems "Sí è debile"; "Io temo sí"; and "Mirando 'l sol."

[11] Cf. p. 21, above.

[12] See p. 96, above.

[13] Cf. p. 126, above, where this is quoted.

which the poet gave a long, detailed description of the beauties of his mistress, imitated from Ariosto's portrait of Alcina (*Orlando Furioso,* VII, 10-16),[14] and concluding with a tribute to the perfection of her mind and the nobility of her character. The *Chapitre* moves to its conclusion in a very similar manner; after having, as we have seen, described his lady's hair and eyes, Jodelle praises her nose, her mouth, her manner of speaking and laughing, and her throat and bosom; then he says:

> Que diray-je du reste? ha grand beauté voilee,
> Que l'esprit par le reste imagine et regarde,
> Mais las! qui est aux yeux par trop long temps celee.
> De descrire et chanter par mes vers je n'ay garde
> Cela: car l'honneur mesme y mettant couverture,
> Ne permet qu'à l'oster nostre voix se hazarde.
> (M.-L., II, p. 29)

This is direct imitation of a stanza in the description of Alcina (*O. F.,* VII, 14, ll. 1-2, 6-8).

But Jodelle ends his poem by a discourse upon the beauties of his lady's soul; there is nothing of the kind in the description of Alcina; in this detail he was evidently following Baïf, with whose *épître,* be it added, his *Chapitre* shows no little similarity of form and phrasing.

The third *Chapitre d'Amour,* "Quand en espoir et peur par les vers que je chante," contains a passage which is merely a somewhat curtailed repetition of the verses we have just been discussing. Cf. the lines "Soit ce bel or . . . . De qui l'heur . . . . "

As before, the sources are Ariosto's Sixth Sonnet, and his description of Alcina (*Orlando Furioso,* VII, 10-16); and the *épître* of Baïf.[15]

The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses a manuscript (Fr. 25455), entitled *Stances, sonnets, complaintes et vilanelles dédiés par Jodelle au Maréchal et à la Maréchale de Retz, Claude Catherine de Clermont Tonnerre, à Mlle de Torigny, à la Reine de Navarre et au duc de Mercœur.* Marty-Laveaux has shown that, while some of the poems in this manuscript are undoubtedly the work of Jodelle, others are not.[16] Still others remain

[14] Cf. p. xvi, above.

[15] For exact reference to these, cf. p. 156, above.

[16] Cf. M.-L., II, p. 377, note 89.

doubtful; from among the latter, Marty-Laveaux selected for publication a set of *Stances sur le depart de Madame la Mareschalle de Retz,*[17] beginning "Le Ciel pleure ung depart, le Ciel faict distiller," in which Paris without Mme de Retz is compared to a garden in mid-winter, when every flower is dead (stanza 11). When Bradamante, who had been absent for some little time from Charlemagne's court, returned and found that her lover, Ruggiero, was no longer there, the palace assumed in her eyes a look of desolation, which Ariosto describes by the same simile (*Orlando Furioso,* XLV, 26).

M. Van Bever has published some additional poems from the same manuscript.[18] One of these is a set of stanzas written to celebrate the return of the Maréchale, "Je l'avois souhaitté à vostre partement"; it ends as follows:

> C'est l'escu d'un Roger, que vostre esprit si grand,
> Il esblouit les yeux et soudain il estend
> Dessus terre esperdus, en signe de victoire;
> Ceux qui s'osent bander encontre voz desseins,
> Bander encontre vous qui tenez en vos mains
> Les succès de Fortune unis à vostre gloire.
> (Stanza 4; Van Bever, p. 252)

The story of Ruggiero's magic shield is told in Cantos IV, VIII, X, and XXII of the *Orlando Furioso.* The enchanted buckler, which had once belonged to the magician Atlante, had the power of striking senseless every one who looked at it, except, of course, its possessor; Ruggiero used it to save himself in a number of emergencies, and then, disgusted with such an unknightly mode of triumphing, threw the shield into a well.

Among the poems from the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript published by M. Van Bever are a number of sonnets. In one of these, "Madame, près de vous quelque éblouissement," the poet declares that when in his lady's presence he is too daz-

[17] The Baron de Retz died in 1562, and his widow, Catherine, became in 1565 the wife of Albert de Gondi. Since the latter was not created a *maréchal* until July 6, 1573, the very month in which Jodelle died, and since the *Stances* were apparently written in the fall (for in Stanza 4 he speaks of "Les fleurs qui commençoient à changer de couleur"), the poem must have been composed, at the latest, in 1572, and the title devised by one of the several copyists who worked on the manuscript.

[18] Cf. his edition of the *Amours et autres poésies d'Estienne Jodelle,* pp. 239 sqq.

zled to be able to sing her praises with any coherence; as soon as he leaves her, however, he can think and speak of nothing else:

> Je discours de vous seule, en vous seule je pense
> Tel qu'on voit l'Usurier qui craint en son absence
> Que ses riches tresors ne luy soient emportez.
> (Ll. 12-14; Van Bever, p. 262)

The simile is taken from the most famous of the laments of Bradamante, that of Canto XLV. The heroine compares her anxiety over the continued absence of Ruggiero to that of a miser kept away from his gold (*Orlando Furioso,* XLV, 34, ll. 1-4).

The 1583 edition of the *Œuvres et Meslanges*[19] contained a sonnet, *Sur les Pescheries, Bergeries et Eglogues de Chasse de Claude Binet,* which was probably written in 1572 or 1573,[20] and which Marty-Laveaux has republished. The sonnet is, of course, full of compliments on Binet's poetry; Jodelle says to him:

> Le Daufin azuré à l'Ourque au pesant cors,
> Le loup à la brebis s'accorde à tes accors.
> (Ll. 9, 10; M.-L., II, p. 334)

The Orc referred to is of course the monstrous sea beast of the *Orlando Furioso* (consult X, 100, and XI, 34 and 35), but Ariosto does not say that it is an enemy of the dolphin; this is Jodelle's idea.

Even taking into account the fact that Jodelle was primarily a playwright, rather than a lyric poet, the number of his imitations of the work of Ariosto is a remarkably small one. Of course, it is true that he wished always to be considered as a

[19] Printed in Paris by Nicolas Chesneau and Mamert Patisson.

[20] M. Marty-Laveaux believes that the poems referred to in the title of Jodelle's sonnet are those which Binet published in one binding with the works of La Pérouse, thus: *Les Œuvres de J. De la Péruse Avec quelques autres diverses Poësies de Cl. Binet* (Paris, Nicolas Bonfons, 1573), and which included a "pescherie," a "bergerie," and an "eglogue de chasse." Cf. M.-L., II, p. 372, note 77.

disciple of the classic poets, and not of the Italians; but the frequent imitations of the songs and sonnets of Petrarch, which I have noted in his verses, incline me to think that this is not the real reason for his neglect of the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori.* It is also true that, when singing the charms of Antoinette or of Catherine de Retz, Jodelle was obliged to assume a respectful tone which precluded all possibility of his borrowing material from such striking but scandalous passages as Ariosto's famous description of Olimpia,[21] or his voluptuous Sixth Elegy.[22] The real explanation, however, is probably that Jodelle did not find Ariosto's poetry to his taste. Jodelle was possessed of a plentiful wit, but of no sense of humor and very little imagination; he knew when a thing was apropos, but not when it was incongruous, and although he could ridicule other people with great spirit, he never learned to laugh at himself. How then could he be expected to appreciate the exuberant fantasy and abounding good-humor of the *Orlando,* or the tolerant philosophy of Ariosto's Satires, most of which begin in a grumbling tone and end with a chuckle? A comparison of Jodelle's imitations of the work of Ariosto with those of Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Baïf, will show that the former was always guided in his choice of material by the selections of the other three; in other words, he took only what he considered fashionable.

[21] Cf. p. 4, above.
[22] Cf. p. 38, above.

CHAPTER SEVEN

JACQUES TAHUREAU [1]

Jacques Tahureau died in 1555, when he was twenty-eight. Besides the *Premières Poésies,* and the *Sonnets, odes et mignardises amoureuses de l'Admirée* (both pub. 1554), he had composed two dialogues in prose (pub. 1565), and an *Oraison au Roy de la grandeur de son règne et de l'excellance de la langue françoyse, plus quelques vers . . . . dediez à madame Marguerite* (pub. 1555); but these latter works hold no interest for us.

M. Blanchemain says of Tahureau's poetry: [2] "Ses vers n'ont reçu d'autre inspiration que celle de l'Amour et des Muses légères; mais dans sa veine juvénile on sent bouillonner cette ardeur passionnée, cette puberté naïve, cette exubérance de sève, qui nous ravissent en ce printemps des arts et des lettres qu'on a si bien nommé La Renaissance . . . . Sa poésie est douce, gracieuse, facile et brillante."

His imitations of the work of Ariosto, which are not many, are usually only one or two lines long. He seems to like best Ariosto's Sixth Elegy; [3] the laments of Bradamante, and her letter to Ruggiero,[4] he entirely neglects. The description of Alcina [5] is imitated only once, and the description of Olimpia [6] not at all.

Since both of Tahureau's volumes of lyrics were published in the same year (1554), and since both have the same *privilège* (granted March 7, 1547), I shall discuss them together, beginning, of course, with the *Premières Poésies.*

[1] The edition of Tahureau's poems used is that prepared by M. Prosper Blanchemain (Paris, Librairie des Bibliophiles; 2 vols., 1870); all page numbers given refer to this edition.

[2] Cf. the Blanchemain edition, I, p. iv.

[3] See p. xv, above.

[4] See p. xvi, above.

[5] See p. 3 above.

[6] See p. 4, above.

The *Premières Poésies*[7] is a collection composed of odes and sonnets addressed to Tahureau's friends—Ronsard, Baïf, Jodelle, and so on—and to his patrons, such as Henri II, his sister Marguerite, and the Cardinal de Guise; and of epigrams against people whom the poet disliked. Only two poems in the volume show unmistakable imitation of the work of Ariosto; the first of these is a flattering discourse *A Pierre de Pascal,*[8] *et aux dieux, en sa faveur.* Among the divinities whose blessings Tahureau invokes, is Venus:

> Belle Deesse en Cithere adorée,
> Venus aux rians yeux, ...
> Au front large et poly, aux deux beaux petits arcz,
> D'un petit filet noyr descochant mille dardz.
> (Bl., I, p. 85)

This concept is of course taken from lines 1-4 of Ariosto's much-imitated Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," ll. 1-5.[9]

The next case of *rapprochement* was first pointed out by M. Blanchemain in the notes to his edition of the *Premières Poésies.*[10] It occurs in a set of stanzas entitled *De l'Heur que recoivent ceux qui meurent entre les braz de leur dame.* The lines "Laquelle . . . . L'esprit . . . . " are imitated from Ariosto's description of the death of Zerbino, *Orlando Furioso,* XXIV, 80 and 82, which Ronsard was so fond of imitating.[11] Tahureau, in his stanzas, mentions not only Zerbino, but Zerbino's sweetheart, Issabella, who was with him when he died.

In the *Sonnets, odes et mignardises amoureuses de l'Admirée,*[12] intended as a companion-piece to the *Premières Poésies,* Tahureau grouped all his love-poems. The young woman by whom they were inspired was a native of Tours; M. Blanchemain believes her to have been a sister of Francine de Gennes, the lady for whom Baïf, who was, be it noted, Tahureau's inti-

[7] Pub. Poitiers, De Marnefz and Bouchetz frères, 1554.

[8] On this curious person, who never produced anything of real literary merit, but who managed to impress all his contemporeries, cf. Pierre de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'humanisme,* Paris, H. Champion, 1921, pp. 271 sqq.

[9] Cf. p. 21, above.

[10] Cf. I, p. 176.

[11] Cf. p. 36, above.

[12] Pub. Poitiers, De Marnefz and Bouchetz frères, 1554.

mate friend, composed his *Amour de Francine.*[13] It is possible that the relationship between Tahureau and l'Admirée was always a purely platonic one, although, as M. Blanchemain remarks, " les élégies du poëte soient terriblement ardentes pour n'être qu'une simple entéléchie." [14]

As might be expected, this collection contains more imitation of the work of Ariosto than did the other. The first case of *rapprochement* occurs in Sonnet LXXX, " La moite nuict sa teste couronnoit." After telling how, one summer night, he had been happily surprised by a visit from his lady, the poet exclaims (ll. 12-14) :

> Devant le jour la nuit me soit premiere,
> Plus chere aussi l'ombre que la lumiere,
> Puis qu'el' m'ha faict si content amoureux.
> (Bl., II, p. 94)

This recalls lines 1-3 of Ariosto's Sixth Elegy, " O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara," written to celebrate a somewhat similar occasion.[15]

The section entitled *Mignardises amoureuses* begins with a long poem, " Quitton, ma belle maitresse," in which Tahureau invites his lady to shake off her winter languor, and to walk with him among the flowery fields and green copses. He then tells her of a shadowy grotto, where they may repose themselves ; and the description of this spot, and the prayer which Tahureau addresses to it (from the line " D'aller voir le plus beau lieu " to the end of the poem) are exceedingly like Ariosto's description of the cave in which Angelica and Medoro were accustomed to rest, and his recital of the blessing which Medoro carved on its walls (*Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 100, and 105-109 ; consult p. 35, above).

This poem is followed by six *Baisers.* In the third, " Quand j'engoule toute goulu," the poet speaks of

> Ces deux chastes lévrelettes
> . . . . Qui d'un parfumé tresor
> Pourroient déflairer honteuse
> Toute l'Arabie heureuse.
> (Bl., II, p. 118)

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[13] Cf. on this point the *notes biographiques* to M. Blanchemain's edition of the poems of Tahureau (I, p. xvii).

[14] Bl., I, p. ix.

[15] Cf. p. xv, above.

Tahureau was probably thinking of two passages in the poems of Ariosto; the first occurs in the Sixth Elegy, "Ó più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara," ll. 25-27. The second is found in the *Orlando Furioso,* in a love-scene between Ruggiero and the enchantress Alcina, VII, 29, ll. 3-6.

It will be remembered that Ronsard imitated these two passages on a number of occasions.[16]

In the sonnet (XCIV) "Ce col marbrin plus que la neige blanc" Tahureau gives a description of his mistress; he employs, of course, the conventional terms which the writers of his day considered proper on such occasions. Her teeth he calls

> Ce double ranc
> Tant bien uny de tres-cheres perlettes.
> (Bl., II, pp. 137, 138)

This recalls a phrase used by Ariosto to describe Alcina's teeth (*Orlando Furioso,* VII, 13, l. 3), "Quivi due filze son di perle elette." The metaphor is of course a common one, but the wording of the two phrases is very similar.

When one considers Tahureau's temperament, and the period in which he wrote, one is surprised that he should have imitated Ariosto's work so little. In 1549 Du Bellay had published his *Olive;* in 1550 Ronsard brought out the *Odes;* in 1552 there had appeared the *Amours* of Ronsard and the *Amours de Méline* of Baïf. All these collections contained imitations of the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori;* if there ever were a period in which Ariosto's poetry was fashionable in France, it was in the years when Tahureau must have been composing the contents of his two volumes.

Moreover, Tahureau's writings reveal him as a person well fitted to comprehend and to enjoy the good things in Ariosto's epic, in his elegies and his satires; both poets have the same gentle humor, the same taste in pastoral settings, and the same candid voluptuousness, whose manifestations, however, are for some reason nothing like so offensive as the cold sensuality of

[16] Cf. p. 4, above.

Ronsard and Baïf. One would have expected Tahureau to be constantly imitating the descriptions of Olimpia and of Alcina;[17] but, as we have seen, he almost completely ignores them. Perhaps M. Vianey's theory, that Du Bellay's repeated borrowing from the poems of Ariosto had discouraged those who came after him from applying to the same source,[18] does to a certain extent hold good in the case of Tahureau; he may have hesitated to use material which his illustrious contemporaries had already rendered commonplace. Besides, Tahureau has such a light touch, that he often suggests, rather than imitates; when reading his verses, one is often reminded of this or that passage in the *Orlando* or in some one of the *Opere Minori,* without being able to state definitely that there is *rapprochement.*

[17] Cf. p. xvi, above.

[18] Cf. M. Vianey's article, "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 295 sqq.; and see p. ix, above.

CHAPTER EIGHT

OLIVIER DE MAGNY [1]

The similarity between the careers of Olivier de Magny and Joachim Du Bellay has frequently been noted.[2] Both died comparatively young, Du Bellay in 1560 and de Magny in 1561;[3] both had been forced by poverty to accept the patronage of great lords, and had endured, while in the service of these men, dreary years of exile in Rome, where they resided at the same time. Moreover, the fruit of this exile was, in Du Bellay's case, the *Regrets* (1558), and in de Magny's, the *Souspirs* (1557), two volumes which resemble each other in form and content, and in which the influence of Ariosto's Satires is easily to be observed.

In general, the attitude assumed by de Magny towards the work of Ariosto is remarkably like that of Du Bellay. Like the latter, de Magny does not hesitate to rank the author of the *Orlando* with the great classic writers.[4] He imitates not only the laments of Bradamante,[5] the descriptions of Alcina and of Olimpia,[6] and Bradamante's letter to Ruggiero,[7] which were much admired by all three of the chief members of the Pléiade;[8] but he also imitates, and at some length, the allegory of swans and crows, or poets and flatterers,[9] a passage of which Du Bellay was exceedingly fond,[10] and which Ronsard and Baïf entirely neglected.

[1] The edition of the works of de Magny used is that prepared by M. E. Courbet (6 vols.; Paris, Lemerre, 1871-1880); all page numbers given refer to this edition.

[2] Cf. *op. cit., Gayetez,* pp. xv sqq. Cf. also Jules Favre, *Olivier de Magny,* Paris, Garnier frères, 1885, pp. 69 sqq.; and J. Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle,* Montpellier, Coulet, 1909, pp. 360 sqq.

[3] Du Bellay was born about 1522, and de Magny about 1529.

[4] Cf. p. 169 of this thesis.

[5] Cf. p. xvi, above.

[6] Cf. p. 3, above.

[7] Cf. p. xvi, above.

[8] Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Baïf.

[9] Cf. p. xvi, above.

[10] Cf. p. 103, above.

Before he went to Rome, de Magny had composed three collections of poems: the *Hymne sur la naissance de Madame Marguerite de France . . . . avec quelques autres vers Liriques* (1553), the *Amours* (1553), and the *Gayetez* (1554). In the first he does not imitate Ariosto's poetry at all; in the second he imitates it three times, and in the last, once. After he had been to Rome, and had become very intimate with Du Bellay, he published two more volumes of verse, the *Souspirs* (1557) and the *Odes* (1559). Besides the general influence of Ariosto's Satires, which is present in the *Souspirs,* there are four imitations of the *Orlando,* and three of the *Opere Minori.* In the *Odes,* I have noted eight cases of *rapprochement* with the work of the Italian.

I believe that this increasing tendency to imitate the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori* was due to the influence of Du Bellay. De Magny was a gentle soul, constantly in need of some one to look up to and to follow; in Rome, deprived of the leadership of Salel [11] and Ronsard, and not yet admitted to the friendship and confidence of his patron, the Seigneur d'Avanson,[12] he had turned instinctively to Ronsard's lieutenant, the author of the *Olive.* We know that Du Bellay was very fond of Ariosto's poetry; it is, moreover, very significant, that of the ten poets whose works are discussed in this thesis, Du Bellay and de Magny are the only two to imitate Ariosto's Satires.

In one respect, however, the two poets are much at variance. Du Bellay always, when imitating the work of Ariosto, changed or omitted those of the Italian's verses which he considered indecently voluptuous; for example, he never imitated the Sixth Elegy.[13] Of de Magny the reverse is true. The Sixth Elegy is apparently his favorite among the poems of Ariosto; once he

[11] Hugues Salel, abbé de Saint-Charon, an admirer of Ronsard, and a very learned person, to whom de Magny was secretary. Salel died in 1551; in 1553, de Magny took service with Jean de Saint-Marcel, Seigneur d'Avanson, and accompanied him that same year to Italy. Cf. Favre, *Olivier de Magny,* pp. 38 sqq.

[12] With whom he was afterwards on excellent terms; cf. Favre, *Olivier de Magny,* pp. 91-101.

[13] Cf. p. xv, above.

imitates it in part, and once, as Remy Belleau [14] had done, he translates it in full.

I have divided the works of de Magny into three groups: poems written before his departure for Italy, poems written in Italy, and poems written after his return to France. The first group is made up of the *Amours* and the *Gayetez*.

The Amours and the Gayetez, 1553-1554. *Les Amours d'Olivier de Magny Quercinois, et quelques odes de luy. Ensemble un recueil d'aucunes œuvres de Monsieur Salel Abbé de saint Cheron, non encore veuës* [15] was published in 1553, before de Magny had entered the service of d'Avanson, and when he was struggling hard to gain some recognition for himself with his pen. Besides the pieces by Salel, which de Magny caused to be printed as a pious homage to the memory of his dead master, the volume contained 102 sonnets addressed to a woman of rank, whom M. Favre believes to have been Marguerite de Cardaillac, vicomtesse de Gourdon,[16] and a number of *pièces diverses*, chiefly odes.

It is only in the sonnets to Marguerite that we find imitation of the work of Ariosto. This begins with Sonnet XIII, "Sera il vray que je doive chercher," of which the first quatrain and first tercet are taken from Bradamante's first lament of Canto XXXII,[17] in which she voices her resentment of the apparently contemptuous manner in which her lover has treated her (XXXII, 18, ll. 1-5).

The final tercet of de Magny's sonnet comes from Bradamante's second lament of Canto XXXII.[18] She receives word that Ruggiero is paying court to another woman; full of despair and rage, she cries out, that if her wrongs are not avenged, she will believe that there is no longer justice in Heaven (XXXII, 40, ll. 7-8).

[14] Cf. p. 149, above.
[15] Pub. Paris, Estienne Groulleau.
[16] Cf. Favre, *Olivier de Magny*, pp. 154 and 207.
[17] *Orlando Furioso*, XXXII, 18-25.
[18] *Orlando Furioso*, XXXII, 37-43.

Sonnet XIV of the *Amours*, "Lors que vaincu de l'ire en sa deffence," offers a kind of apology for the ill-humor of the one that preceded it; when a man is angry, says the poet, he is often driven to words and deeds which he afterwards repents; but all his later attempts to make amends do no good; they cannot efface what has gone before. In the twenty-eighth Canto of the *Orlando* Ariosto indulges in some tolerably broad sarcasms at the expense of the feminine sex; somewhat later, he repents, and begins Canto XXX with a retraction (stanza 1) from which de Magny's sonnet is taken.

Sonnet LVI of the *Amours*, "O faux penser, o desir inutile," seems to be a re-working of Ariosto's Twenty-first Sonnet, "O messaggi del côr sospiri ardenti." However, the last three lines of de Magny's sonnet are nothing like those of Ariosto's; de Magny, in writing sonnets, frequently follows a single source throughout his first eleven lines, and then departs from it in his final tercet.

In Sonnet LXXXVI de Magny mentions Homer, Virgil, and Ariosto as the three great epic poets:

> Si la Nature eust fait naistre ma Dame
> Au siecle vieil de l'aveugle prisé
> D'Agamemnon, le pris eternizé
> N'auroit touché tant excellante fame:
> . . . . Titire aussi dedaigneux n'eust chanté [19]
> L'honneur et pris du Troyen tant vanté,
> Si de tes yeulx il eust veu la lumiere;
> Et moins encor le Cigne Ferrarois
> Du Furieux eust entonné sa voix,
> Ains de ce beau qui te rend la premiere.
> (*Amours*, p. 76)

Although the *Gayetez* were published in 1554,[20] after de Magny had left Paris to go to Italy, the forty poems which make up this collection must have been composed about the same time as those in the *Amours*.[21] The pieces in the *Gayetez* are of two kinds: poems in honor of de Magny's friends; and poems in praise of the various mistresses whom he served for longer or shorter spaces of time, and whose identities are for the most part perfectly obscure.

[19] Titire: Tityrus was the name assumed by Virgil in his first Eclogue.
[20] Pub. Paris, Jean Dallier.
[21] Cf. Favre, *Olivier de Magny*, p. 189.

The poem *A Trois des plus excellents poetes de son temps* is inspired by both love and friendship. De Magny asks Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Jodelle to aid him in spreading the fame of a lady who is, he says, so beautiful that Paris, had he seen her, would have adjudged her lovelier than Venus ("Mesmes le Troyen, ... Du sang . . . . "). Setting aside its obvious classical sources, we must not forget, when considering this passage, that Ariosto had said the same thing of his Olimpia (*Orlando Furioso,* XI, 70).

The last poem in the *Gayetez* is entitled *Iambes contre un mesdisant de Ronsard.*[22] The "mesdisant" is of course Mellin de Saint-Gelais,[23] against whom de Magny takes up Ronsard's defence with all the ardor of a hero-worshipping soul. No punishment seems to him too great for Mellin's crime; he even calls down upon him the vengeance of the Furies, asking them to madden Saint-Gelais as they had formerly troubled the brains of Ajax, Orestes, Orlando, and others ("Et vous . . . . Athamas . . . . "). Orlando is mentioned in this company because his madness was a punishment meted out to the Paladin by God on account of his sinful love for a pagan woman, Angelica; for her sake Orlando had neglected his duty to his church, to his king, and to his country. Cf. the *Orlando Furioso,* XXXIV, 62-66.

The Souspirs,[24] **1557.** Of the satirical poems which form a part of this collection of one hundred and seventy-six sonnets, M. Vianey has said: "Les satires générales de Magny contre la cour et contre Rome sont certainement, comme celles de du Bellay, inspirées au moins un peu des *Satires* de l'Arioste.—'Servez longuement un seigneur aujourd'hui, dépensez votre bien à son profit, ne le quittez ni jour ni nuit, donnez-vous de l'ennui pour lui donner du plaisir, apprenez les jeux qu'il aime:

[22] This poem is preceded by the verses which Ronsard wrote in response to it. They begin "Qu'on me dresse un autel, que nomper on m'ameine."

[23] On the rivalry between Ronsard and this poet cf. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique,* pp. 70 sqq.

[24] Pub. Paris, Vincent Sertenas.

un verre que vous cassez, un mot qui vous échappe détruit tout votre espoir (sonnet 136).—Pour plaire à la cour, il faut savoir flatter, méditer, dire le mot pour rire et surtout être bon hypocrite; il ne sert à rien d'être fidèle et sincère (s. 155).—Ce qu'on apprend à Rome, c'est à souffrir les indignités des faquins et à faire bonne mine aux envieux, c'est à se paître d'espérance et à vivre de feintes (s. 138).' Voilà, en substance, ce que Magny dit de la cour et de Rome, et c'était déjà à peu près ce qu'en disait l'Arioste,[25] avec plus de verve et d'esprit." [26]

So much for the rôle played in the *Souspirs* by Ariosto's Satires. M. Vianey has also pointed out two poems in this volume, XXXV and XCI, which are imitated from two of Ariosto's Sonnets, and one poem, XVII, that shows *rapprochement* with the *Orlando*.[27] I have discovered three more cases of *rapprochement* with the *Orlando,* and one imitation of the Sixth Elegy.

The quatrains and first tercet of Sonnet XVII, "Un cable tords ne peult si bien estreindre," proclaim the sanctity of a promise; whether given in public or in private, says de Magny, a man's word should never be broken. As M. Vianey has remarked,[27] these noble sentiments are imitated from the opening stanzas of Canto XXI of the *Orlando* (1, ll. 1-4; 2).[28]

Sonnet XXIV, "Le Soleil qui m'esclaire et de jour et de nuict," is addressed to a friend, whom de Magny evidently made a confident in his love-affairs; their mistresses, he says, are like two Suns, whose coming banishes cold and darkness, and brings light and springtime warmth (ll. 1-3, 5-8). The simile is taken from the most famous of the laments of Bradamante (*Orlando Furioso,* XLV, 36 and 38); I have discussed these stanzas frequently in connection with the work of Du Bellay and Ronsard.[29]

Du Bellay, in the *Olive* (1549), and Ronsard, in the *Amours* (1552), had each based a sonnet on Ariosto's much-admired

[25] In his First Satire, "Perc' ho molto bisogno, più che voglia"; his Second Satire, "Io desidero intendere da voi"; and his Sixth Satire, "Pistofilo, tu scrivi che se appresso." On Du Bellay's imitation of Ariosto's Satires, cf. p. 109, above.

[26] Cf. *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle,* pp. 361, 362.

[27] Cf. "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 296; and *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle,* p. 208.

[28] Ariosto had expressed the same idea in lines 43-48 of his Ninth Elegy, "Ben è dura e crudel, se non si piega."

[29] Cf. p. 28, above.

Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro." [30] It is not to be wondered at that de Magny should follow their example; his version is the sonnet "Ce beau poil est le reth auquel je fu surpris" (Sonnet XXXV).[31]

The first eleven lines of Sonnet XLIX, "O bien heureuse nuict, à moy plus douce et chere," are evidently inspired by Ariosto's Sixth Elegy, "O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara," ll. 1-3, 28-30, 34-36, and 52-57, in which the poet celebrates the night on which his lady gave him a rendezvous. De Magny afterwards translated this entire poem; see p. 177, below. It is possible that lines 9-11 of de Magny's poem were also influenced by a sonnet of Baïf's, "Ne sou ne las, du plaisir ravissant" (*Amours de Méline,* Livre II), which I have discussed in an earlier chapter of this thesis.[32]

Sonnet XCI, "L'un vantera l'or frisé de ces tresses," is imitated, according to M. Vianey,[33] from Ariosto's Twelfth Sonnet,[34] "Altri loderà il viso, altri le chiome." Both Ronsard and Du Bellay had imitated the Twelfth Sonnet; cf. pp. 33, 97, above.

The first eight lines of Sonnet CIX, "Le vaincre est en tout tens digne d'une grand gloire," de Magny has placed in quotation marks. This is because they are a translation of a passage in the *Orlando,* XV, 1, in which Ariosto declares that, although it is always a glorious thing to win battles, he is most deserving of praise who can defeat the enemy without loss to his own troops.

When de Magny wrote Sonnet CXVI, his love-affairs were evidently not going well, for he says (ll. 9-14):

> Attendre sur un roc l'Orque le plus terrible,
> Avoir devant mes yeux une Meduse horrible,
> Et cent Harypes voir de ma table à lentour,
> J'aymeroy cent fois mieux, que ce tourment extreme
> Que me donne et redonne, et de nuict et de jour
> Sans espoir de confort la cruëlle que j'ayme.
>
> (*Souspirs,* p. 83)

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[30] Cf. p. 21, above.

[31] M. Vianey, by whom this case of *rapprochement* was first noted (in "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I, 296), refers to the Sixth Sonnet as Sonnet 10; this is an error.

[32] See p. 120, above.

[33] *Op. cit.,* 296.

[34] For lines 7-8 of de Magny's sonnet, cf. *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 13, ll. 5-6; and Petrarch, *Canzoniere,* "Oimè il bel viso," ll. 3-4.

The story of the Orc, a sea-beast that devoured women, and to which the people of Ebuda used each day to present a new victim, is told in Cantos VIII, X, and XI of the *Orlando;* as usual, de Magny has not hesitated to interpolate a reference to Ariosto's epic into the midst of his reminiscences of classic legends.

In Sonnet CXVII, however, de Magny has begun again to sing his lady's praises; Nature, he says, created her perfect and then broke the mould in which she had been cast (ll, 9-11). This conceit is, of course, imitated from Ariosto's description of the Scottish prince, Zerbino (*Orlando Furioso,* X, 84, ll. 5-7). The passage was a favorite with Ronsard; I have mentioned it repeatedly in connection with his poems.[35]

The Odes, 1559. This volume,[36] which was de Magny's most ambitious effort, contained not only odes, but sonnets, *stances,* and elegies as well. He had meditated its publication for a long time; as early as 1553, we find the *Odes* of de Magny advertised as in preparation by a Parisian bookseller, Arnoul l'Angelier;[37] and several of the pieces in the collection show by their contents that they were composed about that time; others were evidently written much later.

Eight poems in the volume show imitation of the work of Ariosto, seven of his *Orlando* and one of his Sixth Elegy. The letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero, the description of Alcina, and the allegory of swans and crows,[38] are each imitated once.

L'Ombre de Salel is one of the earlier poems; it was written when de Magny was first seeking the favor of the Seigneur d'Avanson. The spirit of the dead Abbé is made to address d'Avanson directly; Salel recounts how, when he died, his protégé, de Magny, was left friendless and desolate:

> J'oy mille et mille criz dont il remplit le ciel,
> Ressemblant le poucin en sa triste misere,
> Qui de loin apperçoit sa clocloquante mere,
> Et qui se void captif de l'oyseau ravissant,
> Qui l'emporte par l'air ja desja perissant.
> (*Odes,* I, p. 59)

[35] See p. 90, above.

[36] Pub. Paris, André Wechel.

[37] Cf. the Courbet edition of the *Odes,* I, p. xiii.

[38] Cf. p. xvi, above.

In the second Canto of the *Orlando* (stanza 39), Pinabello, a knight, tells how his lady was stolen from him by a magician on a flying steed; the thief had pounced on her suddenly, dropping from the sky, and had carried her off as a hawk carries away a chick, while the hen clucks in helpless distress. This is obviously the source of the simile used by de Magny.

The *Ode à Jean Bertrand, Conseiller au Grand Conseil, en faveur de Pierre de Paschal* was written quite late, when de Magny, having gained the confidence and good-will of his patron, and of his patron's friends, was able to bestow favors on his own account. The entire *Ode* is devoted to the proposition that only the poets can endow men with immortal fame; he attempts to prove this by rehearsing Ariosto's allegory of the swans and crows (*Orlando Furioso,* XXXV, 10-23).[39] In a long passage ("Mesmes aussi tost que la Parque . . . . Domtera le Temps et l'oubly")[40] he repeats the whole story, just as Ariosto gives it; his style, however, lacks the happy concision of the Italian's.

De Magny's propensity to be constantly falling in love has been remarked on by his biographers.[41] In an *Ode à Anthoine Fumée, Grand Rapporteur de France,* he describes the beauties of his latest fancy; she has perfect brows:

> Et qui veoid son sourcil benin,
> Veoid le petit arc hebenin
> Dont Amour ses traitz nous desserre.
> (Odes, I, p. 125)

The source of this passage is of course lines 1-4 of Ariosto's famous Sixth Sonnet, "La rete fu di queste fila d'oro," which I have mentioned repeatedly in connection with the work of members of the Pléiade.[42]

De Magny continues to describe his new mistress in two passages, "Celuy qui . . . . Ou bien . . . . ," and "Quant à . . . . Du visaige . . . . ," which are made up of details taken from the descriptions of Alcina and of Olimpia, *Orlando Furioso,* VII, 14, and XI, 68, ll. 3, 4.

[39] Cf. p. 103, above, where a synopsis of this passage is given.
[40] *Odes,* I, pp. 93-99.
[41] Cf. Favre, *Olivier de Magny,* pp. 189 sqq.
[42] Cf. p. 21, above.

In 1558 the French, under the leadership of François de Guise, captured the supposedly impregnable city of Calais. In one of his odes, *Sur la Prise de Calays,* de Magny celebrates this event. In a long passage (" Comme un grand torrent qui noye, ... De quelque juste brocard "),[43] he applies to the fallen fortress a simile which Ariosto had used to describe a conquered tyrant: that of a river, which, although fearful and resistless when winter rains cause it to flood its banks, is in summer so reduced by drought that any one may cross it dry-shod (*Orlando Furioso,* XXXVII, 110, 111).

Du Bellay, in his *Antiquitez de Rome* (1558), had imitated this simile,[44] and had been the first, I believe, to apply it to a city — Rome. The fact that de Magny does the same thing is probably another proof of Du Bellay's influence upon him.

The ode *Contre aucuns malveuillans d'un sien grand amy* is aimed, like the earlier *Iämbes,*[45] at the detractors of Ronsard.[46] De Magny wishes that their days may be filled with torment and their nights haunted by dreadful apparitions, that will put them to flight like a troop of fawns that have seen their mother borne down and killed by a panther (" Comme un troupeau . . . . Ait desja . . . . "). In the first Canto of the *Orlando,* Ariosto describes in a similar manner the flight of the beautiful Princess Angelica from an unwelcome suitor (I, 34).[47]

A poem written in a more jovial mood is the *Ode a Bacchus pour punir un gourmant de raisins.* De Magny protests that the " gourmant " has an appetite the like of which was never equaled:

> Et quand l'Orque retourneroit
> Qui tant de vierges devoroit,
> Tel gousier il n'auroit encore.
> (*Odes,* II, p. 58)

This is de Magny's second reference[48] to the sea-monster whose story is told in Cantos VIII, X, and XI of the *Orlando Furioso.*

[43] *Odes,* II, pp. 26-28.
[44] Cf. p. 108, above.
[45] See p. 170, above.
[46] Cf. Favre, *Olivier de Magny,* p. 291.
[47] Cf. also Horace, *Carm.,* I, 23.
[48] For the first, see p. 172, above.

In the ode *De la cognoissance de son amour,* which is dedicated to Remy Belleau, the poet names various illustrious victims of the Love-god, and compares his own sufferings to theirs. It was Cupid, says he, who stole away Orlando's wits (" C'est luy . . . . Que tout . . . . "). This refers to Orlando's infatuation for the Princess Angelica of Cathay, which was so great, that when he found she had given her affections to another man, he lost his mind from the shock. Cf. the *Orlando Furioso,* XXIII, 100-135.

Another ode of the same type as the one just discussed is the *De l'extremité de ses passions, à Gabriel du Faussard.* De Magny tells his friend that love took possession of his heart little by little, like a wind that at first blows gently, and then grows more and more violent, until at last it becomes a fierce, destructive storm (" Comme souvent . . . . En meurt . . . . ").

Ariosto had applied this simile to the mounting anger of two pagan knights, who met as rivals for the hand of the fair Doralice, daughter to the King of Granada (*Orlando Furioso,* XXIV, 99). I have already discussed this passage in connection with a poem of Ronsard's.[49]

All day long, says de Magny, he can think of nothing but his lady; and, going to bed with her image in his mind, he dreams of her all night, like a man sick of a fever, who is haunted by visions of cool streams and fountains (" Ainsi qu'un . . . . Des fonteines . . . . ").

This was what Ariosto had said of the Princess Fiordispina, who was consumed by a hopeless love for a person whom she could not hope to marry (*Orlando Furioso,* XXV, 43, ll. 1-4).

The extravagance of de Magny's protestations of affection, when he loved a woman, was always fully equaled by the violent petulance of his recriminations when he happened to fall out with her.[50] Thus in the *Ode sur un despit qu'il print avecques s'amye,* he declares that now that the madness of love has left him, he is amazed and ashamed that he should have been

[49] Cf. p. 47, above.

[50] On his abuse of Louise Labé, cf. Favre, *Olivier de Magny,* pp. 88-90, and iii sqq.

held captive for so long by such a faded and unattractive person as his former mistress; and he adds:

Ainsi jadis au desloger
Apparust Alcine à Roger,
Apres qu'en despit d'Erifile,
Il eust de son amour jouy,
Ayant ouvert l'oeil esblouy
Pour retourner à Logistille.
(*Odes*, II, p. 160)

This rather confused passage refers to a story told in Cantos VII and X of the *Orlando Furioso:* the hero Ruggiero, after overcoming a tyrannical giantess, Erifilla, arrives at the castle of the beautiful but wicked fairy Alcina. She practises her charms upon him, and he remains with her as her lover, until one day, having put upon his finger a ring which has power to undo all spells, he sees her as she really is — a toothless and wrinkled old woman. Ruggiero is then heartily ashamed of his previous infatuation; he at once leaves her court for that of the good and virtuous fairy Logistilla.

It should not be forgotten that Du Bellay had once applied this simile to himself,[51] under circumstances which were, I suspect, very much like those which inspired the *Ode* of de Magny.

Whether de Magny really believed himself to be capable of a constant and unwavering affection for one woman is extremely doubtful; we do, however, find in this volume an *Ode de la constance de son amour, à sa Dame.* The poem, which is too long for quotation here,[52] is a translation of the first four stanzas of Bradamante's letter to Ruggiero (*Orlando Furioso,* XLIV, 61-66).[53] Although de Magny does not attempt to reproduce the verse-form used in the *Orlando,*[54] he imitates the movement and phrasing of these stanzas very closely.

Another ode, the *Description d'une nuict amoureuse,* is a translation of Ariosto's Sixth Elegy, "O più che il giorno a me lucida e chiara."[55] De Magny replaces the eleven-syllabled

[51] In the *Regrets,* Sonnet 89; cf. p. 112, above.

[52] Cf. *Odes,* II, pp. 210, 211.

[53] Cf. p. xvi, above.

[54] *Ottava rima:* eleven-syllabled verse, eight lines to the stanza, rhyming abababcc.

[55] Cf. p. xvi, above.

lines, grouped in threes, which are used by Ariosto, with four-line stanzas, eight syllables to the line; this makes his translation considerably longer than the original elegy.[56]

In his imitation of the work of Ariosto, de Magny is at once the most docile and the most conservative of the group of poets discussed in this thesis. He makes almost no changes in the material which he transfers from the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori* to his own poems. Moreover, he makes no attempt to seek out passages which have never been imitated before; on the contrary, he seems to prefer those which have been approved, and imitated, by Du Bellay, Ronsard, and Baïf.

Since the greater part of his poems are erotic in character, it is only natural that he should prefer to imitate Ariosto's Sixth Elegy and Sixth Sonnet [57] more frequently than other portions of his work. He never tries to reproduce Ariosto's verse-forms.

It is worthy of notice, that, when de Magny is writing in his natural manner — that is to say, when his verses are not distorted by an attempt to display erudition — his style has a simplicity, a directness, and an intimate warmth of tone which remind one of Ariosto's. Of course, de Magny was, and probably always would have been, a much less mature and sophisticated person than the Italian; moreover, he could never have equaled the latter in imaginative capacity. But he was infinitely better fitted to understand the elevation of Ariosto's sentiments, his unpretentiousness, his sincerity, his absolute loyalty to those he served, than were writers like Baïf and Jodelle. If de Magny had lived, the development of his attitude towards the work of Ludovico would have been most interesting to trace.

[56] Cf. *Odes*, II, pp. 228-234.

[57] On these poems, cf. p. xv, above.

CONCLUSION

It has now become evident that some of M. Vianey's theories concerning the influence of Ariosto's poetry on that of Ronsard and his group[1] may be accepted without modification, while others must be rejected. His statement as to the length of its duration has been perfectly supported by all the evidence that I have been able to collect; Ariosto's work exercised its greatest ascendency upon French lyric poetry between the years 1550 and 1560, while Du Bellay and de Magny were still living, and all the members of the " Jeune Ecole " were writing love poems; but Ronsard, and his disciples after him, continued to imitate the *Orlando* and the *Opere Minori* for at least forty years longer.

M. Vianey is obviously correct in asserting that it was the ardent, voluptuous character of Ariosto's verses that chiefly recommended them to the members of the Pléiade; we have seen for ourselves that the erotic passages are those most frequently imitated.

It was not, however, as he supposes, Joachim Du Bellay who led his group in imitating the work of the Italian, nor did the number of Du Bellay's appropriations, large as it was, deter his companions from taking material from the same source. Two years before the publication of Du Bellay's first volume of verse (the *Olive,* 1549), both Ronsard and Peletier had published poems which showed *rapprochement* with the *Orlando.* Ronsard's borrowings from the work of Ariosto are much more numerous than Du Bellay's; moreover, Baïf took almost as much from this source as did the author of the *Olive.*

It is as an imitator of the *Opere minori* that Du Bellay stands out from among the members of his group. He imitated more of Ariosto's love-sonnets than any of his contemporaries; indeed, the only other member of the Pléiade who imitated them to any extent was Ronsard. By the rest the love-sonnets, except the Sixth[2] and the Twenty-second,[3] were almost entirely neg-

[1] Stated in his article on "L'Arioste et la Pléiade," *Bul. It.,* I (1901), 295 sqq.; cf. p. ix, above.

[2] See p. 21, above.

[3] See p. 27, above.

lected; Baïf and Pontus de Tyard, as well as Du Bellay and Ronsard, composed poems based on the Twenty-second sonnet; and every poet in the group imitated the Sixth sonnet, which for some reason or other, probably on account of the gaudy *concetto* with which it begins, had a most tremendous vogue.

Du Bellay is also, I believe, the first French poet whose work shows the influence of Ariosto's Satires. After him, and in all likelihood through him, the Satires came to be known and imitated by de Magny, and by some of the most prominent writers of the next generation.[4]

The most frequently and most universally imitated of Ariosto's works is of course the *Orlando Furioso*. I have already pointed out those passages in the epic which Ronsard and his adherents chiefly admired;[5] they all contain a multiplicity of striking similes; most of them express strong emotions, love and jealousy, rage and the desire for revenge. Unfortunately, in their quest for the obviously effective the poets of this group entirely overlook the more subtle and psychologically acute passages in the epic; moreover, they sometimes grossly distort the material that they take from it; thus Orlando's farewell to his friend Brandimarte,[6] which is a really noble address, is transformed by Ronsard into the lament of a young courtesan for her dead lover;[7] surely lack of sensitiveness could go very little further.

Baïf is the only one to imitate Oriosto's verse-forms; he has attempted to reproduce in French both the *terza rima* of the Elegies and the *ottava rima* of the *Orlando*.[8] This experiment he soon abandoned, however, and it was not repeated by any other member of the school of Ronsard; it has therefore small significance.

When all is said, the reason why the poets of this school imitated Ariosto's work so often was probably because he had a

[4] Desportes, Vauquelin de la Fresnaie, and Mathurin Regnier; cf. on this subject Joseph Vianey, *Mathurin Regnier,* Paris, Hachette, 1896, and ibid., *L'Arioste et la Pléiade.*

[5] See p. xvi, above.

[6] *Orlando Furioso,* XLIII, 170-174.

[7] In the first *Elégie à Genévre;* cf. p. 64, above.

[8] In the poems "Une Maistress est bien dure et cruelle" and "Envieux medisant, de qui la bouche est pleine"; cf. pp. 126, 128, above.

great understanding of human emotions, and an ability to portray what he himself felt, and what he observed in other people, with exceeding aptness and vigor. The fact that the normal simplicity and directness of his style was sometimes marred by a superabundance of *concetti* did not of course grate upon the sensibilities of Ronsard and his companions; on the contrary, they considered it one of the most admirable features of the epic.[9]

It would be impossible to discuss in a single thesis the influence of Ariosto's poetry on the work of all the better-known poets of the school of Ronsard. I have treated here the poems of those writers who ought obviously to be considered together: the seven members of the Pléiade, Peletier, who was their precursor and to a certain extent their guide, and Tahureau and de Magny, who were Pléiadistes in theory and practice, if not in title. The magnitude of their debt to Ariosto, as revealed in the preceding chapters, proves, I believe, that this phase of Italian influence on French literature in the sixteenth century is deserving of much more attention than has heretofore been given it; I hope in the future to supplement this study by an examination of the works of such men as Jean de la Pérouse and Amadis Jamyn, who professed the same literary creed as the poets of the Pléiade, and who therefore in all probability imitated the same models.

[9] This is the chief defect of the letter of Bradamante to Ruggiero (*O. F.*, XLIV, 61-66; cf. p. xvi, above), which is in other respects a lyric passage of admirable pathos. But the members of the Pléiade greatly admired its wealth of metaphors, which they never tired of imitating.

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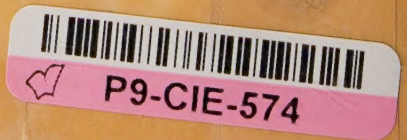
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